3:O liveira E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

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The Process of Assimilation of the Terena
[O Processo de Assimilação dos Terêna]

Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira

Rio de Janeiro: 1960
Museu Nacional

Translated from the Portuguese by A. Brunel

Human Relations Area Files

1966

[Title page]

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Terêna woman making pottery. (1955)

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Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals,
a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do
not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them
hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the
cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the
railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at
the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress,
wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair
characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans
and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary
to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always
prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative
peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and
set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those
untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the
subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not
more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/
study will lead us to a better understanding of the process where-
by tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/10 cont./
121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging
into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are
also recommended for the contribution they can make to the
handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations.
[114] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de
[122] Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it,
while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso
de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The
present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure
of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation
and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that
could open new and better living perspectives to the native
populations of Brazil.

121 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative
177 possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which
619 traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining
a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of
participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains
differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the
177 greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups
101 that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction
of tribal groups with the national society. While some
of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative
autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes
that spoke different languages and also had different cultures,
or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers
[648] or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the
[797] Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of
missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different
degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from
group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative
121 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various
177 forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/10 cont./

121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for
two centuries in such close connection with the regional society
that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's
formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally
present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only
be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by
virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to
traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with
historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task
of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians
got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to
tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their
process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[701] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-
Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient
Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-
existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya
suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination
to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society,
as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved
in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population
of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an ex-
tent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/11 cont./

177 562 563 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may include Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother; Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 619 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society, /12/ the various Guaná groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as aldea Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

114 121 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work. I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

/12 cont./
/14 stimulate new studies that, some day, will make it possible
/21 to deal as a whole, with the necessary methodological strictness, with the problems of integration of the native populations into the national society.

Darcy Ribeiro
Rio de Janeiro, July, 1959

/13/ Introductory Note

/22 This work is the first report of our research on the Terêna Indians, carried out under the auspices of the Sacção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Divasão de Antropologia of the Museu Nacional.

/21 The research was planned for the recording and interpretation of the process of social interaction that has occurred in a systematic and continuous way between the Terêna and the national society, with the aim of uncovering the socio-cultural mechanisms that have affected the less generalized and more specific process we call here assimilation (1).

/14 The study of this process, however, first called for a
/21 general survey of the Terêna region, indispensable to the selection of the community where we should settle for a longer stay in the course of which we would carry out, in depth, our
[101] ethnological research. While this "survey" took up a month and a half and provided us with useful though superficial knowledge of eleven local groups, the rest of the time (some four months or so) that we spent in Mato Grosso on that first trip, i.e., from July to November, 1955--was devoted to the aldea

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1. Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1957:173.

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114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during
the months of October and November, we returned to the field
and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously
[162] studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[103] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying
that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted
with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of
Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research,
divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two
studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole,
and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha,
set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter
projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain
the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

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121 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated
in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The
data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips,
which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those
gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison
and control for the other material, since these last communities

/14 cont./

/21/ [014] [127] had to be subjected to a less systematic and less rigorous investigation in view of the short time available. Our stay in Cachoeirinha permitted us, above all, to work on the reconstruction of the traditional culture, though always with the help of bibliographic sources. Nevertheless, the basic procedure to which we resorted for the observation and recording of the social interaction between the Terêna and our society, coincides at various points with the "control-group" method mentioned by Audrey Richards and particularly suitable for comprehensive studies in so far as it permits us to single out the relative importance of each [000] socio-cultural variable in the complex (3). /15/ With reference

[126] 3. "I adopted, as a result of experiments, a certain technique of observing and recording culture change. This process I have described in concrete detail. It can be roughly divided into three stages: (a) The making of a rough reconstruction of tribal life in pre-European days by comparing the narratives of the old men of the tribe with the facts of daily life actually observed. (b) The comparison of different communities, in this case villages, in which contact with Europeanism has been more or less extensive--the method of geographical sampling, in fact. (c) The collection of facts in the form of case-histories to show the extent and the variety of contact change." (1938:58; cf. also Fortes, 1938:67.) /Cited in English./

/15 cont./

With reference

/23 to the techniques used, from "participant observation" to the
/25 use of questionnaires, we decided to mention them whenever necessary, thus endeavoring to make clear to the reader the origin and method of collecting the data analyzed.

/28 As for its structure, the essay is divided into eight
[127] chapters: the first four were written on the basis of a bibliographic investigation, while the last four represent an attempt to describe the present situation of the Terêna and to interpret the process of socio-cultural change on the basis of the formulation of the problem of their assimilation with the regional neo-Brazilian population. Obviously they constitute the most important part of the work, as an introduction to which the first four chapters were written, namely: I) "The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup"--which aims to identify the population studied; II) "The Nature of Intertribal Interaction"--in which we attempt to analyze the type of relations between the great Guaná and Mbayá-Guaikurú groups; III) "Profile of the Traditional Culture"--which is a brief account of the pattern of the ancient Terêna-Guaná culture; IV) "History of Interethnic Relations"--a study of the waves of settlement in southern Mato Grosso on the part of our society and the consequences of that pioneering process
[127] in the modification of the regional native situation; V) "Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups"--a record of the most significant episodes in the history of each local group (with the aid of the oldest informants in the community) and of whatever could be subjected to quantification, these methods being combined with bibliographic sources (chiefly SPI reports); VI) "Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities"--a comparative examination of the data presented in the previous chapter, in an attempt to ascertain the emerging variables, in order to indicate the pattern of modern tribal behavior; VII) "Acculturation and Mobility"--as two facets of the assimilation process, they provide the title for the most theoretical chapter in this work, in so far as it deals with a formulation of the conceptual system (used in the interpretation of a process)

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128 while at the same time giving an idea of the type of culture change brought about by acculturation, in the face of the socio-cultural changes resulting from social mobility; finally, VIII) "The Mechanisms of Assimilation"--where are examined, on the basis of "case histories," the factors that facilitate /16/ assimilation and those that hinder or impede it, concluding with a brief recapitulation of the basic theses of the work.

114 We cannot close this introductory note without mentioning that this research was carried out through the stimulation of Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, when we were working under his direction in the Secção de Estudos (Museu do Índio) of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Our reading of his yet unpublished work, "A assimilação dos índios no Brasil /The Assimilation of the Indian in Brazil/," was basic to the formulation of our central research problems, while at the same time our association was a factor that contributed much to the success of our research, both in his courses on ethnology, in which we had the opportunity to participate as his assistant, and in the daily observation of his indigenist activities during the years 1954 to 1956. With his acceptance of our invitation to write a preface to the present work, Prof. Darcy Ribeiro is once more lending his stimulus and support to our work, incurring our sincere gratitude.

Aside from Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, Prof. Oracy Nogueira and Dr. Joaquim Mattoso Câmara Jr. read the manuscript. The first five chapters, ready since 1957, were read by Dr. Florestan Fernandes, our former professor of sociology, who introduced us to the systematic study of the social sciences when we were studying at the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters of the University of São Paulo. We thank them all for their suggestions, of which we made use of only those that seemed pertinent, this being the reason why we are solely responsible for the ideas expressed here. To our colleagues in the Divisão, Maria Heloisa Fenelon Costa and Dalton Moreira de Araújo, we wish to give thanks for the collaboration they were always ready to offer, especially to the latter, who accompanied us on our last trip into the field and helped us

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114 administer questionnaires and carry out interviews among the urbanized Terêna.

122 We are deeply grateful to the employees of the 5.ª Inspetoria Regional of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, particularly to Messrs. Luiz Martins da Cunha and Américo Antunes de Siqueira, heads of the Cachoeirinha Native Post, our hosts, respectively, in 1955 and 1957-58, who, with their families, put us up for several months in their home, in the midst of one of the largest and most beautiful Terêna Indian
123 /17/ aldeas. We wish to thank and pay homage to the Terêna population in the person of my fondly remembered friend, José Timóteo, "Captain" of Cachoeirinha, who died early in 1958, and to whose memory we dedicate this work.

122 To Dr. José Cândido de Melo Carvalho, Diretor-geral of the Museu Nacional, and Prof. Luiz de Castro Faria, Diretor of the Divisão de Antropologia, our gratitude for having financed the final part of this research, as well as having made its continuation possible when we entered the institution which they direct. /Page 18 is blank./

3:Oliveira--11 B-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
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Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

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I. The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup

The southern region of the state of Mato Grosso, which extends between the 20° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians, is partially occupied by Terêna Indians (1) who,

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1. The spelling of tribal names follows the conventions set down by the 1.ª Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio, 1953), on making tribal names uniform, whose text was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 2, No. 2, December, 1954, São Paulo.

along with the Kaiwá /Cayua/ (2) and Kadiwéu /Caduveo/

2. We give the generic name Kaiwá to the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso, because this subgroup is the largest Guarani unit in the area, the Nandéva being in the minority and thus not appearing separately in the estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which includes them all under the name Kaiwá.

groups, are the only remaining indigines of the Guaná, Guarani, and Mbayá-Guaikurú tribal populations which in not too distant times occupied that area of southern Brazil.(3).

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3. Among the innumerable tribes and subtribes that vanished still in

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the present century, we might note the Kinikinâu (Guanâ) and the Ofaiê-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951: 107.)

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Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

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4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

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[463] It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and,
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[177] chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

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[101] The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

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177 Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

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114 documentation on the experiences that the Guaná groups under-
177 went in contact with European civilization should meet the re-
quirements that might arise from a historiographic inquiry into
114 the relations between Indians and "whites." On the other hand,
as far as information of an ethnographic character are concerned,
we must admit the scarcity of the data, much less rich than
125 that concerning the Guaikurú groups. In spite of the fact that
the 18th-century bibliography on the Chaco groups, for example,
is regarded as being most satisfactory, to the point where
Alfred Metraux states that "the 18th century is the golden
age of ethnological literature on the Chaco" (5), we do not
find, in relation to the Guaná, any work of the rank of a Dobrizhoffer or even a /21/ Labrador. This latter chronicler does give us a very good description of the Guaná, but--if we compared it with the section of his book, O Paraguai Católico /Catholic Paraguay/ that concerns the Mbayá-Guaikurú--we shall conclude that it is far inferior to the magnificent pages dedicated to the famous Indian horsemen. /Map 1 appears here./

But let us take the Terêna specifically. We shall see that the bibliography regarding them only begins with Castelnau, in 1844-45, and thus in the middle of the last century. We find brief references in the /22/ 18th century in Sanches Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre, which are nothing more than mere indications of location and population estimates. In the 16th and 17th centuries they are not even mentioned. The Cartas Anuas /Annual Letters/, for example, which are so rich in information on the many Chaco groups, tell us almost nothing about the circumstances of the Terêna in the 17th century. And Schmidel and Cabeça de Vaca, who went through the Paraguayan Chaco respectively in 1535-36 and 1543, limit themselves to a few brief remarks on the Guaná,

[Text continues on p. 16]

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5. 1946:206.

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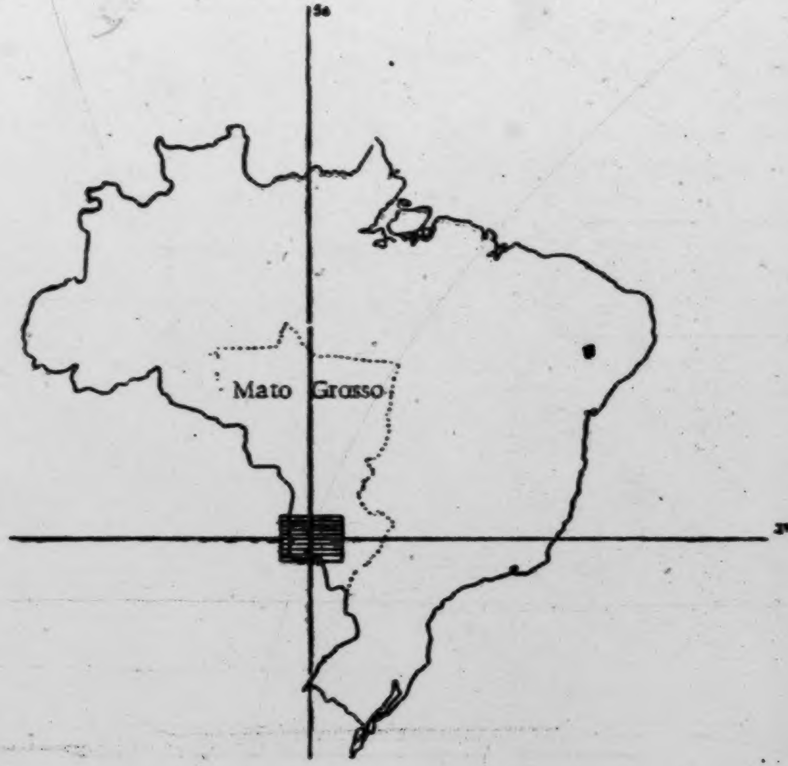
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Mato Grosso
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Map 1. Location of the region occupied by the Terêna Indians.

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175 of minor importance except of course for the former's famous statement, when he compared Guaná-Guaikurú relations to the state of subordination prevailing at the time in his own country between feudal lords and peasants.

[131] The 19th-century bibliography, even prior to Castelnau, becomes far more useful for the study of the Terêna, since it reveals the presence of Guaná groups in the region now centered on the city of Miranda, the present area of the greatest concentration of Terêna local groups. From the information left
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177 us by Almeida Serra (1803), Hercules Florence (1825-29), and indirectly by Alincourt (1828), we can form a good idea of the interethnic and tribal contacts in that area and of the relative isolation of the Terêna population. And this lack of data on the Terêna, at the time, is explained by Castelnau's statement (1845), according to which, up to that time, those Indians had maintained "very few relations with the whites." And he adds: "They are a warrior people who retain in their entirety the customs of their ancestors." (6)

175 From Castelnau on the bibliography is more satisfactory, and none of the chroniclers fails to supply--although in varying degrees--data on the Terêna. From Elliot (1844), through Leverger (1847), Francisco Lopes (1848-49), Alves Ferreira (1846-50), up to Taunay (1863-64) and Bach (1896), all of them--and especially the last two--are lavish with information of great interest to the study of contact situations between the Terêna and the national society, even though, let it be said in passing, only Bach and in second place Taunay provide ethnographically relevant material. In a strict sense, in the

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6. 1949, II:301. (The dates in parentheses refer to the time when the travelers were near the groups mentioned and not to the dates of publication of their works.)

/22 cont. /

175 19th century. /23/ only Castelnau and Bach can be regarded as good sources of ethnographic data, and this limits to an extraordinary degree the possibilities of /achieving/ a historical reconstruction of the traditional culture on the basis of the bibliographic sources. (7)

7. In a previous work (1957:175-176) we dealt with the consistency of the primary 18th-century and 19th-century sources in so far as the recording of interethnic and intertribal contact situations is concerned, taking the Guaná as a whole; it now remained to give an idea of the content of the sources, in so far as their usefulness for the ethnological study of the Terêna properly speaking is concerned.

114 The ethnologically valuable bibliography in our century opens with Max Schmidt's study (1901) of a group of remaining Guaná close to the city of Cuiabá; a linguistic work, with a fine introduction on the history of those groups, with a good use [148] of the bibliography available at the time. There follow the reports of the Rondon Commission (from 1904 on) and of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (from 1915 on), which are invaluable for an understanding of these Indians at the beginning of an entirely new situation characterized by the establishment [797] of a policy of protection. The second decade of this century is marked by the presence of the Protestant missionary, Alexander Rattray-Hay (1917-20) among the Terêna (of Bananal); his ethnological information--although not scientifically controlled--are of considerable help to us in understanding the native culture and the more immediate results of a religious proselytism in competition with the official protectionist policy.

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114 Baldus (1934) gives us an article on "A Successão Hereditária do Chefe entre os Terêno /Hereditary Succession to the Chieftainship among the Terêna/," worked out on the basis of the statements made by the "Captain" of Moreira aldea, close to [829] Miranda; this same ethnologist was to give us another work, the fruit of his stay in Araribá aldea, in the state of São Paulo (1947), on the mythology of those Indians, which at the time had already been transformed into a body of legends, for it had ceased to be the object of belief on the part of the community. Finally, the Terêna were visited by Oberg and Altenfelder (1946-47), ethnologists who provided us with two detailed works on the Bananal local group, even though they tend to generalize their conclusions to the Terêna population in general. (8)

8. Altenfelder, in spite of generalizing from his study of cultural change to the Terêna as a whole, is perfectly aware of the problem (of the representativeness of the group studied) when he suggests in his article "a comparative study among the various communities of Terêna Indians, each of them subjected to different physical and social conditions." (1949:377.)

121 /24/ The study that we are now making of these Indians pinpoints them as tribal components of an area occupied by our society for centuries, where various waves of settlers arrived
121 successively in the course of the last 300 years. And among
177 those problems that spur us most strongly to research--and that
178 are the objects of this work--there figure those relating to the process of pioneering, conquest, and implantation of national

/24 cont./
121 elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences
177 for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by
178 an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation
process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous,
and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population
nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into
the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled
the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna
population as a whole? And we might also add--although here
we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other
Guanã groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

101 Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups
and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe.
According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative
of Aruâk culture, were divided into two branches, "whose
history and culture developed along different lines: the name
'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes,
and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The
former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while
the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimiting,
[131] in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It
is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of
their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the
designations applied to the Aruâk subtribes, of the Paraguay
basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be
better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to
by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
101 occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
175 "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made
of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás.
They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

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9. 1946(a):238-39.

/25 cont./

/10/ 175 [[28]] parcialidades, although these, to differentiate among themselves, use other names." (10) He goes on to explain that the name Guaná is a pronoun of the third person of the "Chaná" language meaning that one and that it must have become the proper name of a nation through one of those misunderstandings so common to the etymology of tribal names. (11) Now Felix Azara writes that "Guaná" means in his language man or male; which seems to be--he says--hardly applicable to a nation, yet it is under this name that they are known in Paraguay. (12)

Finally, D. Juan Francisco Aguirre comes up with a third version, while at the same time corroborating, with Labrador and Azara, the statement that Guaná was not the name by which those Indians called themselves. Thus he says: "The Guanás, in their language Chanés, that is, many people, lived in the Chaco...." (13)

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10. 1910, II:255. An elucidation: instead of quoting the texts of the chroniclers in the language in which they were written, we choose to transcribe them translated /into Portuguese/, while trying to keep the original style; we believe that this will make the reading of these pages less burdensome.

11. Cf. Labrador, II:267.

12. 1809, II:86.

13. 1898:471.

/25 cont./

/01/ The controversies that took place among 18th-century chroniclers, about the translation of the term Guaná, nevertheless do not compromise the interpretation that the word Guaná is but a special designation given by the Spanish conquistadors to the Txané groups of the Paraguay basin. It is probable that the term in question is a name of some sort from the language of one of those groups, with the exception of the Terêna, whose dialect does not contain such a word.

Among these Indians, as we were able to ascertain in the course of our stay in their aldeas, "Guaná" was an unfamiliar word that evoked no reaction whatsoever when uttered by the researcher. Be it noted that for man or male, for example, the Terêna have "hoyênó," and for that one they use "eneponé"; while "txané," to them, means people. However, in order to avoid any discussion which, on these grounds, would be useless, we must follow the majority of the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers and accept the tradition of its use in ethnology, (14) and /26/ adopt the designation Guaná for the Aruák-Txané groups of the Paraguay basin.

As for the identification of the Guaná subgroups, ethnology [114] faces problems of a different order. The variation encountered, chiefly in consulting the 18th-century chroniclers and between these and those of the following centuries, leads the specialist to desist from any further investigation into the exact historical position and the probable geographic location of these tribes in the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Max Schmidt gives a comparative table of the various names attributed to the Guaná groups by chroniclers of the [174] 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. (15) Through an analysis of

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14. Cf. the works of Metraux, Baldus, Oberg, and Altenfelder.

15. Cf. 1903:328-331.

/26 cont./

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174 this table and the addition of data from other chroniclers not consulted by its author, we can infer that at best four Guaná subgroups crossed the Paraguay River to its eastern bank, where they survived (not all of them, as we shall see later) until our century. The tribes were: Terêna, Layana, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi /Echoaladi/, the latter also being known as "Guanás," which led to some confusion since this name coincided with the Guaná subgroups as a whole. (16) A / [illegible]

101 16. The distinction made by Sanches Labrador between the tribal designations and the names attributed to the Aruák groups by the Guaikurú, permits us to set up the following table:

Tribal self-designation	Guaikurú name
"Chanás"	"Layânas" (Niyololas)
"Terêna"	"Etelena"
"Choarana"	"Echoaladi"
"Quainoconas"	"Equini Quinau"

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648 This table shows that "Echoaladi" is a Mbayá-Guaikurú word by which--owing to the enormous Guaikurú influence throughout the area--the "Choarána" seem to have been known in the 18th century (Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre).

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[648] Already in the following century, the Guaikurú hegemony decreased, and the remaining "Choarana" seem to have been called also by the generic name "Guanás"; the names "Chooronós" and "Chualas," which are added to the

/26 cont./

101 designation "Guanás" respectively by Taunay (1931:16) and Castelnau (1949:308), refer in all probability to the names of separate local groups, though of the same tribe of the "Guanás" or Exoaladi.--As for the variation encountered in the names of the other Guaná subgroups, consult the already mentioned Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40), and Altenfelder (1949:271-72, note 1), the latter only as the Terêna are concerned. 1

101 [174] [162] /27/ "Niguecactemic" tribe, referred to by the 18th-century chroniclers, seems never to have crossed the Paraguay River to the east, but to have remained in the Chaco until its disappearance. At the close of the 18th century, its number fluctuated between 200 and 300 individuals, according to the estimates of Aguirre (17) and Azara (18) respectively. Already at that time the "Niguecactemic" were a small group which the following century, to judge by the chroniclers consulted, did not hear of again.

174 167 [131] The other Guaná groups referred to above (Terêna, Layâna, Kinikinâu, and Exoaladi) crossed the Paraguay River in successive waves, beginning with the second half of the 18th century, and settled in the area watered by the Miranda River, between the parallels of 19° and 21° of lattitude, where

17. "Diário de Aguirre" /Aguirre's Diary/, 1911, p. 309, in Metraux, 1946:240.

18. 1809, II:86-88.

1 [For bibliography, see category 116, pp. 155-160 of foreign text -- Analyst].

/27 cont./

174 they were encountered by 19th-century travelers. It seems
167 improbable that Guaná groups should have entered the region
[114] before that time, as Azara would have us believe. (19) The

[131] 19. "At the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards, they (the Guaná nation) lived in the Chaco, between the 20° and 22° parallels of latitude. They remained there until 1673, while a large part of the nation settled east of the Paraguay River, north of the tropic, in the country that was then called the province of Ytati; then they spread toward the south." (1809, II:86.) Incidentally, the objectivity of this statement is also questioned by Metraux, 1946:239.

The
175 testimony of Padre Sanches Labrador is conclusive in this respect,
167 when he notes the first migratory movements of those Indians
[597] toward Brazil, between 1760 and 1767. It should also be added
that the bulk of the migrations seem to have occurred--according
to Max Schmidt--after 1767, i.e., says he, "the chief migration of the Guaná population as a whole only began at the time when the Franciscans replaced the Jesuit missions."(20)

20. 1903:327.--That date, 1767, marks the expulsion of the Jesuits from that area.

114 We do not consider it necessary to give here the itinerary of these groups, or even to undertake a demographic analysis of the Guaná as a whole. It will be sufficient to refer the

/*27 cont.*/

/114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the *Handbook of South American Indians* for a retrospective view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
175 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /*28*/ at the time of the Paraguayan war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikínau--who by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded, there being only a small number of survivors scattered through Terêna *aldeas*.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

[113] 21. *Atas Cuiabanas* /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos indios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen,
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[167] 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

22. *Atas Cuiabanas*, *ibid.*; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikinâu in 1847, while the above-mentioned *Atas* reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikinâu, that is, one thousand altogether.

/28 cont./

175 the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals
161 according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last
[162] century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number
161 as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today
162 the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives
3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we
were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the
fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number
161 might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the
Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic
stability--which would in itself have been highly promising,
in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even
managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this
direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

121 It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná
648 groups without considering the relations that were established
between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a
[175] brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is
necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem
encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal
culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we
already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--
[101] are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

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23. 1809, II:86-88.

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

/29 cont./
121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
148 whole, mentioning the Terêna and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

175 The first information available on the Guaná(26) show
241 us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture,
as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along
this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots,
and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be
had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested,
another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third
has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 fresh food in the plots and in the houses."(27) Already by this
148 time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná
were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position,
as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according
to which the Guaná were "vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in
the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their
seigniors."(28)

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26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

28. Ibidem.

/30 cont./

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148 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

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29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikináu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

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would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

175 The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what
648 Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh...."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97. --The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups.--For a discussion of the concept, see

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Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

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Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some

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31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or captains married according to their fashion Guaná women caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

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32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

G /31 cont. /
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175 their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--
648 or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko.
[201] "Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone
M have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights
565 over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques
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175 and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation
and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our
G brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the
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34. Idem:267.

G offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their
[288] servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake
of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a
cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which
M the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not
[565] offered such presents, even though they are provided with food
[574] during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends
and acquaintances." (35)

35. Idem: 267-268.

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175 To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in
648 the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand
the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the
17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to
G their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed
[439] knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could
supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese. (36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

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174 Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max
648 Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák, (37)

[text continues on p. 33]

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37. "Worthy of note in the expansion of the Aruáque cultures, through colonization is the fact that it has nothing to do with political power, being based on a purely economic-administrative foundation.... We thus find an automatic explanation, in this type of colonization, for the extraordinary phenomenon that political power is not found in the hands of the Aruáque men in various South American regions, in spite of the obvious predominance of their culture and their economic-administrative system." And in a footnote (no. 165) the author adds: "...this also occurs among the Guanás, who formerly lived in Mbayá territory, so that they appeared partly as allies, partly as vassals and people under the protection of the Mbayás."

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--"In such cases," warns Max Schmidt, "we must not conclude at the outset that we are dealing with a later subjugation of Aruáque tribes by other groups, as so many tend to do. Only where such a domination by means of force is proved by definite historical facts must it be taken into account. In all other cases, to judge by the spirit

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Arawakan Indians SR8
Mbaya SK11

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A 174 648 of the expansion of the Aruáque
cultures, it is more logical to
admit that political power never
lay in their hands." (Cf. 1917,
Ch. 4.)

A 174 648 according to which these tribes, when they establish relations
with the populations of neighboring tribal groups, manage
these relations in such a way as to lead to a condition of
economic dependency.

G M 175 648 Let it be emphasized, therefore, that the information
left us by 18th-century chroniclers are very important because
they reveal, in our opinion, actual contact situations between
the Guaikurú and the Guaná. They prove a Mbayá-Guaikurú
hegemony that already existed in pre-Colombian times,
probably immediately following the settlement of those Aruák
M 175 648 [177] [492] groups in the Chaco. If there already existed a certain military
superiority on the part of the Guaikurú over the Guaná and
other Chaco groups, this became more pronounced when those
Indians adopted the horse and changed it into a weapon of war,
already in the times of the Spanish conquest. Once this
superiority had been established and made concrete, it does
not seem correct to state that it must have acquired identical
M [201] characteristics in relation to all Chaco groups, indiscriminately.
With the exception of the other Guaikurú groups, such
as the Payaguá, or groups such as the Mokovi, Abipon, and
Toba, it was the Txikíto, the Guaxi /Guachi/, the Guató,
and especially the Txamakóko, the most frequently attacked
tribes, which, when vanquished, saw their /33/ members
G [175] [648] made into captives.(38) Meanwhile, the Guaná groups were

38. We use this term in its most general sense, keeping all the variations that might exist in the relations of dependency of captured

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Indians. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, in 1791, writes in a letter addressed to the Governor of the Province, João Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Cáceres, the following: "With them (the Guaikurú) are allied the Guanãas; the Payaguás, out of the fear they have of them, take great care not to lose their friendship. All the others are their daily prey, whom they reduce to slavery." (Ms.)

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treated as independent communities, with their own territory and chiefs; which did not preclude the fact, however, that Guaná families were found among the Guaikurú themselves, who in the latter's aldeas, voluntarily or as the result of some intertribal conflict, had been led to be enlisted in the way of life of that seignorial group. (39)

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39. Herbert Baldus, in his timely and penetrating introduction to the Brazilian version of Boggiani's Os Caduveo /The Caduveo/, analyzes and classifies Guaikurú-Guaná relations as being of the symbiotic type, which seems to us to be true and for the documentation of which theory this chapter has been written.

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Thus, Baldus writes: "This symbiosis continued side by side with stratification and must not be regarded in any way as first steps of it. Although sometimes

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> some Guaná joined the Guaikurú voluntarily as peons, this fact did not lead the Guaikurú to dominate as a social class the Guaná who had remained in their aldeas. The uncertain nature of the Guaná's state of dependency is proved by the fact that later on, with the increasing political decadence of the Guaikurú, they relaxed the symbiosis and later gave it up altogether." (P. 24.)

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Without going into the details of this mechanism of intertribal interaction, which we cannot do on the basis of the sources consulted or even of the oral history of the remaining Terêna, it must be noted here that the relations between the two tribal groups were far more in the nature of an alliance than of a pure and simple submission of the Guaná. (40)

> 40. With respect to this, let us see an interesting comment by Ego Schaden: "Nothing more natural, therefore, than the establishment of the symbiotic interdependence, which for a long time united the two tribes, in such a way that the Guaná acknowledged and accepted the dominant position of the Kaduveo (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe).... The Kaduveo-Guaná relationship cannot be characterized without

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further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guaná, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guaná for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

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There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaegui captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in

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this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling."(41) And even in those

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cases where Guaná populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaladi--settled near the Albuquerque

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41. Labrador, 1910, II:267.

G /34 cont./
M fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen
175 from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra:
648 361 "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in
G aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges;
[162] and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they
G live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into
M the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them
[563] become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)."(42) The

42. 1845:209.

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175 chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the
648 Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of
563 movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú
communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as
we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás
themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst,
G the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and
M general superiority..."(43) And as for those Guaná, already

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648 43. Ibidem.
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727 mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without
G 829 giving up their community, here is a further observation by
Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the
captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives
eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances
they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the
Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own
ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when
called "captives" by the Portuguese.(44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

G 175 182 619

/35 cont./ It is plain that in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

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On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikinâu.

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Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO).

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45. 1910, II:256.

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

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/35 cont./
Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

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Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87; cf. 1943:132-133.

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In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

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49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311. In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layâna words. The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurus, a name that plainly reveals their origin!"

000 /36 cont./

are also known as Guaycurys,
a name that plainly reveals
their origin."

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This shows the intensity of the process
175 of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence
648 563 of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú in-
197 fluence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to
G 175 be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi
177 or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative
M G of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a
[177] process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú inter-
M tribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or
175 develop along the same lines. There were times when some
648 M Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú.
721 According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and
[181] ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of
G their full power and superiority over the other nations that did
[712] not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing
G M those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These
175 injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to
728 allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths they suffered each year."(50) And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

G M 175 648 M 721 563 [581]

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The occurrence of these struggles, which recurred until the end of the 18th century, and thus up to the moment of the beginning of the Guaná migrations, shows that the Guaikurú technique of contracting marriage with Guaná female caciques had no other end than to facilitate the domination of one group over the other, and thus lend legal sanction to the Guaikurú hegemony. Actually there was no total plundering of Guaná goods, whether material or even psychological, i.e., in terms of rights, as occurred in the relations of the Guaikurú with other neighboring tribal groups. The Guaná were too numerous and, especially, useful, to serve as suppliers of certain consumer goods necessary to the Mbayá-Guaikurú community. It would not have been wise to destroy them, in a war without respite, such as they waged on the Guaxi, Guató, and Txamakôko. With these, the technique was to kill the men and most of the women, and to adopt the children. If the same policy had been carried out with the Guaná, they would have lost the best agriculturalists in the entire region and, in addition, the allies best equipped to maintain the Guaikurú supremacy throughout the Paraguay basin.

G M 175 648 571

We regard as quite objective the opinion of D. Juan Aguirre when he tries to find the cause that gave rise to Guaná subjection: "According to the best informants I could get," he says, "the custom of the service of the Guanás began after the peace of the Mbayá. The latter lived along the former's way in the Province, and as they came, worked, and took along implements with which they progressed and also traded with the other Indians, the Mbayás began to charge them for the right of way; they paid them, and in this way, since only a few came and went, they were subjected to the open superiority of the Mbayás whom they truly respect and serve with a submission to which we can bear witness."(52) Even if--as seems

52. 1898:472.

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very probable--we regard those Guaná as an Exoaladi or Layâna subgroup, and not the whole of the Guaná tribes, we would have to agree that undoubtedly this was one of the forms that the association between the two groups assumed. And, on the other hand, the sources consulted do not permit the unequivocal selection of any one of the hypotheses propounded here as to the cause of this peculiar submission of a sedentary, agricultural group to a nomadic, hunting, and gathering one. Rather than being mutually exclusive, we believe that these /hypotheses/ reflect different aspects of the same process of ecological competition /38/ and tribal interaction: explanations based on (i) marriages of caciques, or (ii) Guaikurú attack on members of Guaná local groups, or yet (iii) the control of paths of communication with other population groups that were necessary to Guaná trade, all these events already analyzed above are facts that express the vicissitudes experienced by the Guaná in their effort to adjust to an adverse conjuncture.

It is well to conclude this chapter--in which we try to characterize the process of Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal interaction--with this impression of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, when he met those groups at the close of the 18th century: "There is little difference between (the Guaná--RCO) and the Guaikurús, whose neighbors, friends, and allies they are. They intermarry and render reciprocal assistance, whenever required by some general or private need."(53) Thus this close interaction--which we might classify as symbiotic(54)--to some

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53. 1791:4.

54. "Relations are symbiotic if the agents view each other largely from the stand point of their usefulness, with a minimum concern for fair play

G /38 cont./

M and adherence to norms."
175 E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
648 /Cited in English./
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G extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, charac-
M terizing an entire period in which relations between representa-
175 tive parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous
648 forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation,
571 which must be taken into account if we are to understand
177 Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

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121 Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of
128 the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural
G complexes analyzed.

126 Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture,
[127] no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

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[173] 55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work. [128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's magico-religious behavior.

565 631 [771] /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná already suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the *caciques*, who are like seigniors of the others. The *smaller captaincies* fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the *common people*." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

567 101 And Castelnau adds: "Many own *slaves*, whom otherwise they generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

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121 173 almost no help in reconstructing the traditional culture.

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

57. 1910, I: 92.

G /40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

567 from the Xamacocos, a wild tribe that lives farther downriver
101 on the right bank of the (Paraguay) river." (58)

58. 1949:247.

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565 These passages show that tribal stratification into three distinct strata existed: (a) Chiefs ("big" and "small"), (b) People, and (c) Captives. Later on, we shall describe in detail what each of these strata meant within the social structure. Meanwhile we shall merely give the Terêna names for these strata--and which we shall use from now on when we wish to re-
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[104] fer to them. Respectively, we have: (a) Naati or Naati-Atxé, (b) Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txané (respectively: "ugly people" and "people who ask": this last term was heard only at Bananal aldea, where it seems to be the equivalent of Waherê-Txané),
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565 and (c) Kauti. Comparing them with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, we also seem to have had three strata, as can be ascertained by this passage by Rodrigues do Prado: "The Guaicuru nation is divided into three parts: the first is that of the nobles, whom they call captains, and their wives, ladies /donas/, a title they also give to the daughters; the other part they call soldiers, which is passed from father to sons; and the third, which is the largest, is that of the captives, a name given to all those they seize in war and to their descendants." (59) We see here that

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631 59. 1839, I:27. Now Sanches Labrador, similarly to his interpretation regarding the Guaná--as we saw above--gives the following explanation on the nature of the Mbayá-Guaikurú strata: "...the present-day caciques append the surname "Big Captains";

/40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

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the others, Small Captains, or lower ones. The captains by blood are in the first place the cacique, the trunk of those of the parcialidade and seignior of the others.... In second place the captains by blood are all descendants and relatives of the cacique, in any line and degree; and in both sexes....The captains of the second class are all those who, at the birth of a son /child/ of the cacique, received the title in the cradle..." (1910, II:19-20). Yet, aside from this, there is nothing to indicate that the Big Captains and Small Captains of the Guaná were of the same nature as those of the Guaikurú.

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We see here that both the Guaná and the Mbayá-Guaikurú /two plates appear here/ /41/ seem to combine both forms of stratification noted by Thurnwald: social and ethnic, (60) which we shall discuss

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60. "Die Menschliche Gesellschaft /Human Society/," in Herbert Baldus, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia, /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, note, "Estratificação Social /Social Stratification/."

below.

[text continues on p. 47]

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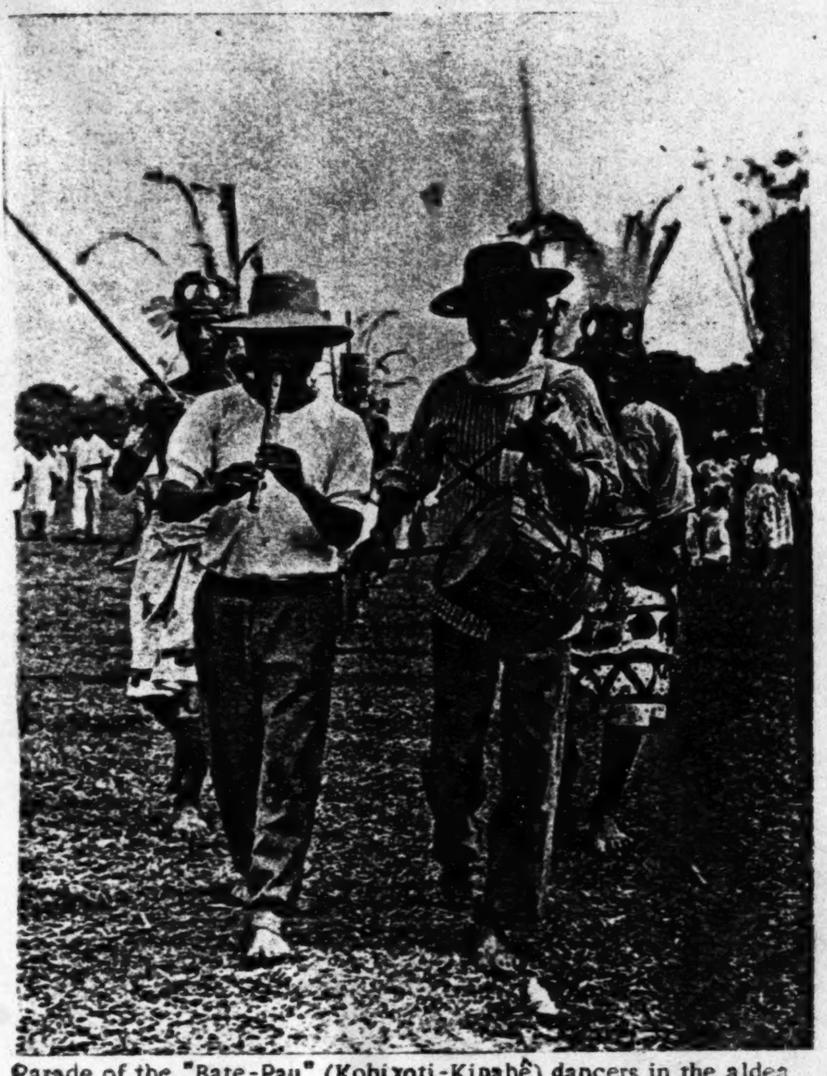

Parade of the "Bate-Pau" (Kohixoti-Kipahê) dancers in the aldea streets, with the fife and drum in front. (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--46b E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

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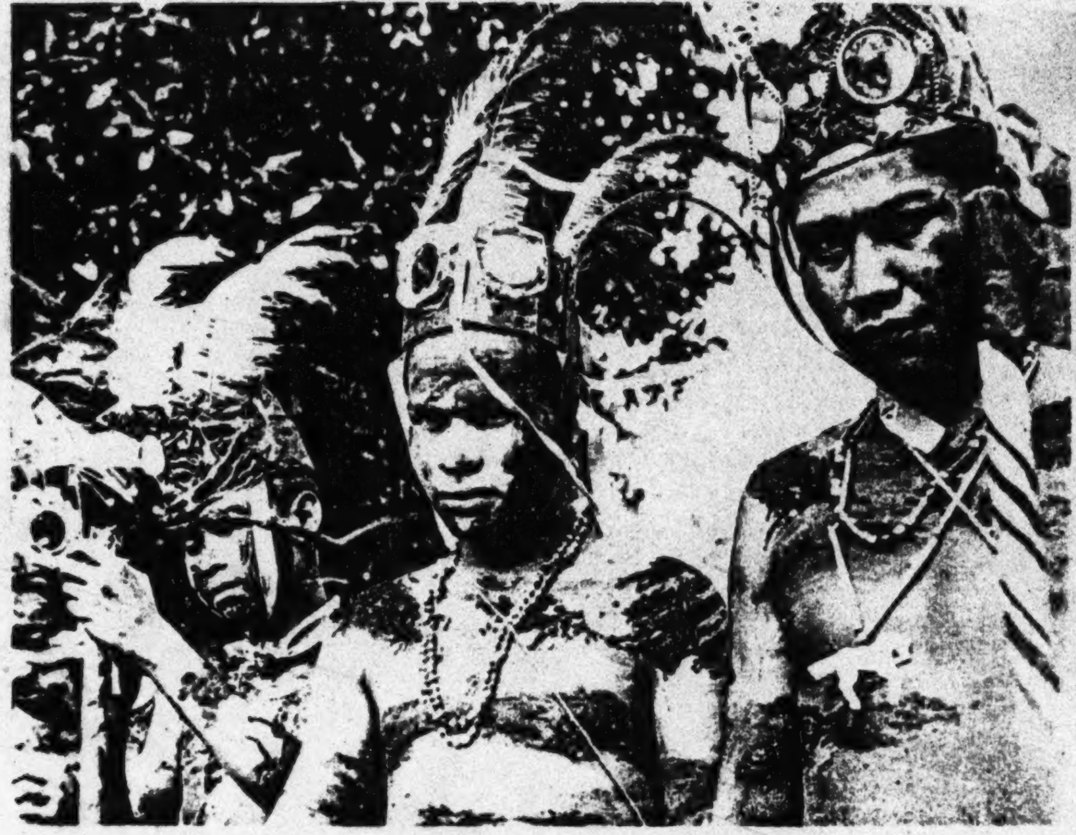

Terêna dancers dressed and adorned for the "Bate-Pau."
(Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our 175 understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 721 Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná [565] communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

114 But let us consider yet another passage, written already 565 in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which [104] in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [559] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] [567] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

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61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

62. 1928:108-109.

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

114 longer existed at the time (1920) when /42/ he lived with the
565 Terêna, since they were unable to make raiding forays or even
178 567 to trade captives (63) in a region completely transformed by
114 the establishment of the national society. But, on the other
565 hand, he mentions the "Shunachati" as belonging to a stratum formally identical to the others. As for this, our experiences among the present-day Terêna lead us to disagree not only with Rattray-Hay, but with ethnologists like Oberg and Altenfelder, who decided that these Indians were stratified into four strata or classes: Naati, Xuna-Xati, Waherê-Txané, and Kauti. (64) Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the

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63. In the second half of the last century, there still existed what may be called trading of captives, as may be seen by this passage by Taunay: "The Caiuás /Cayua/ (a Guarani group--RCO) who had been sold passed from hand to hand as slaves or, as they were called there, cativeiros /"captivities"/." (1931:21.)

64. Oberg, 1949:28; Altenfelder, 1949:319-320. It is necessary to emphasize that these authors use the term "Unati" rather than Naati, which is the correct one. "Unati" merely means "good." On the other hand, these authors use the term class, with which we cannot concur, since

[Traditional Culture]

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565 class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Waherê-Txanê and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114 Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the
565 warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle
555 and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally
701 translated, would mean killer. Therefore, warriors could be
all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group,
[567] whether they were Naati or Waherê-Txanê. Consequently,
members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati,
including the Kauti, even though this was not very common,
since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

[171] 65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Terêna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Terêna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurû--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

563 But before we analyze the mechanism of "status" acquisition or vertical mobility in Guaná society, we shall attempt to elucidate further the type of ethnic stratification revealed by the presence of the Kauti.

178 The first type of stratification established in the old
563 Guaná communities must have resulted from the domination of
727 this large agriculturalist group over groups of individuals captured from other tribes, /43/ who fitted into the Guaná social system as captives (Kauti). Besides, this type of ethnic stratification was most probably already familiar to the Guaná even
[171] before they settled in the Chaco. Max Schmidt, for example, in his studies on the Aruák groups, shows that such a stratification appeared among them rather regularly and, in a certain sense, as a necessity for their expansion. (66) This ethnic

121 66. "It would be interesting to know by what means Aruák society managed to obtain for itself, on the basis of its cultivation of the soil, the position of seignior over another class of the population, which submits to laboring for the interest of its masters, helping them in the obtaining of the necessary means of production. In order to create, under the conditions now prevailing, a subordinate ethnic stratum, the Aruák tribes would have to fulfill two conditions. They would have to establish relations with the population of neighboring tribes and, then, these relations would have to be managed in such a way as to

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

This ethnic
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178 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratifica-
565 tion, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco
groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its
origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification
became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the sym-
biotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the
Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior
patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns
177 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú
178 not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters
565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri-
461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm
work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let
it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the
178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems
565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of
462 conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more
[171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we ob-
served that the women from traditional families, i.e., those
remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women
working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is
regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman
should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the
felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the
/44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

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67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

/44 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

171 462 177 division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

462 773 The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the
462 weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both
[177] sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terêna groups are passing and of their inte-
177 178 648 462 565 gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably

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68. 1949:294-295.

[Traditional Culture]

/44 cont./

177 during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

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69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

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70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

[Traditional Culture]

177 178 462 562 565 171 [591] [596] /44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guanà culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

178 555 565 [721] [631] /45/ The dynamization of Guanà social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guanà stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guanà, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/45 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555 It followed, furthermore, that for these *Kauti*, given their different
565 ethnic origin, this meant, above all, their incorporation into the local
[563] group as free men.(71) The basic condition for upward social ascension, without any doubt, was heroism in fights, which was rewarded with the title *Xuna-Xati*. Thus, it is made clear that *Xuna-Xati* could not /46/ have been a stratum of the same nature as the *Naati* and *Waherê-Txané* or *Maxati-Txaná*, or, even, similar to the *Kauti*, as can be seen in Figure 1.

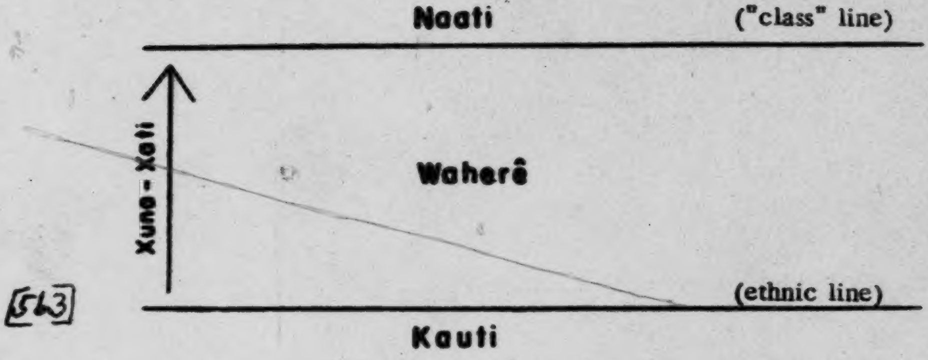

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Figure 1. Threefold, asymmetrical structure combining a social and an ethnic stratification.

616 But the Guaná communities seem not to have been limited
[565] to being stratified into endogamous strata, to judge by the information we have on the Terêna of old: there was, also, a dual division, i.e., two moieties, also endogamous, divided the group into *Xumonó* and *Sukirikianó*.

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71. Cf. Oberg, 1948:285.

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into *Xumonó* and *Sukirikionó*. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th-
and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with
the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on
the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay,
speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period
when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-
regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists
who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder,
found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus,
616 not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
[173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remain-
ing Kinikinâu and Terêna give as being true the existence of
these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is
there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired
strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the
regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of
a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-
Hay, interpreting the *Sukirikionó* and *Xumonó* moieties re-
spectively as *good* and *bad*, attempts the following explanation:
[273] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain,
even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers,
the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage
between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal *aldea* pointed out, he who was
descended from the *bad* (moiety), he could not, according to
the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are *good*."
[178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down
totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[796] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage,
the two parts, the *good* /*47*/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the
bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes
apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as
Cohishotiquipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

[Traditional Culture]

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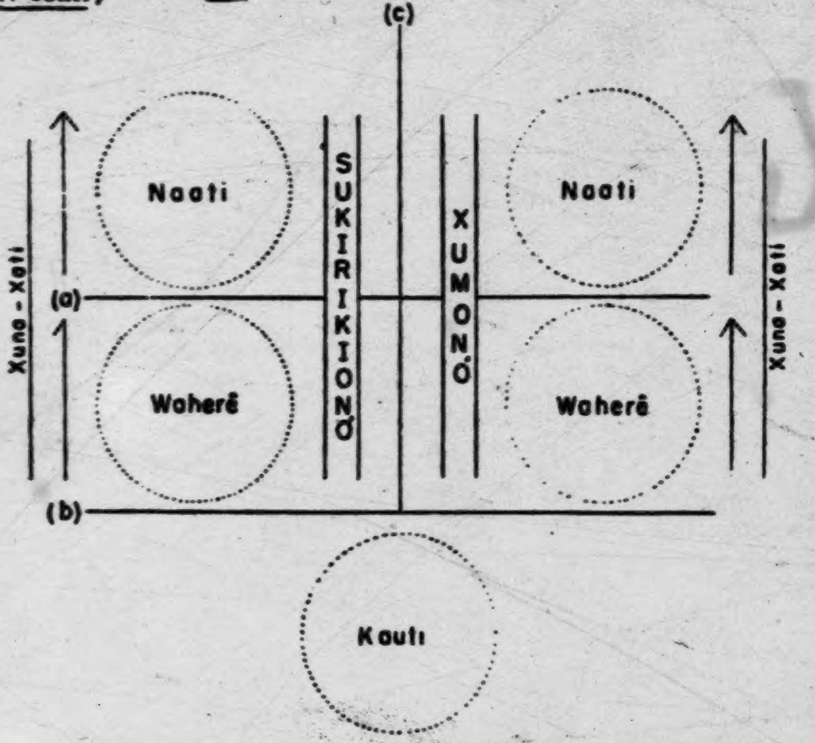

Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

611 Cohishotiquipahú....* (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
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[62]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
616 We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation,"(73) i.e.,
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Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

[565] 74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

[Traditional Culture]

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/48 cont./ The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalû was always a Waherê-Txané.

Then, the food was carried

616 to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out,
796 after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó
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[192] 75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirû word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, [184] Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchû," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565]
[178] 76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

[Traditional Culture]

/49 cont./

616 century the old stratification
796 was far less operative. For
526 fuller descriptions of the
565 "Tadique," see Altenfelder,
178 1949:364-365.

616 Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of
535 Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining
[526] only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by
[178] the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race
[214] of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and
[534] witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series
of evolutions by two groups, "Hararâ-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 – It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals
such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses."
We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition
of the "Hararã-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó
and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means
that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the
Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays
in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that
still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties
no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is understandable
[162] in view of the fact that it would have been impossible
for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation
of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful),
as the old social structure gradually broke down through the
process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian
nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are
deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by
the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters,
in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze
the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find
that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male
or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's
generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally,
permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

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78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
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[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná
[776] "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.

81. Idem: 248.

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

But

771 821 [796] much greater--still according to the same source--was the respect they showed for the "small constellation which they called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

[177] [289] theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities, or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are considered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux, 1944:294.

Terêna, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

796 [114] [821] J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these

85. "The only religious festival they celebrate is the one that corresponds to our Holy Week and to the passage of the seven stars; this festival lasts for seven days. In all the aldeas, in front

[Traditional Culture]

796 [346] /51 cont./ In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a roof with two slopes, of straw and two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters high, supported on bamboos. Under this roof they place a bamboo fork from which they hang a plume of feathers and a gourd. They go in large crowds from rancho to rancho, every half hour, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great din with horns, cry out, and discharge gun powder; it is an impressive noise, so impressive that even the animals take fright, and accompany the music with
[431] their cries and moans. On the fifth day a masked figure appears (the Yuna-kalû-rco) with a little bag in his hand, clowning and requesting contributions from everyone for the great banquet which they will all celebrate. Accompanied by music, drums, and flutes, they celebrate the banquet and dances which end on the seventh day with much drinking." (1916:91.)

796 festivities were carried out among the Terêna whom he visited
[114] at the end of the 19th century. These ceremonies, which

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[282] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[789] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati
and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature,
and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

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[773] 86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619 [illegible]
571 87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial
complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the
strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community
are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

796 /52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
182 largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and
619 efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence
571 whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near
462 Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those
[714] festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group
[222] of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for
[273] a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which
all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage,
the soul of every festival."(88) Once the raw material had
been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell
to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be
seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for
796 the same end."(89) And the function of these annual gatherings
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became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only moment when the local groups manage to gather together all (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

88. 1949, II:303.

89. The chronicler goes on: "Some sew glass beads on pieces of striped cotton cloth, others cut and lay out the red feathers with which they make ornaments for the head; yet others sketch on their husbands' bodies delicate paintings, when they do not do this themselves." (1949, II:304.)

[Traditional Culture]

/52 cont./

796 182 619 571 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 171 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that traditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the 171 773 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to 171 773 [178] [114] religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect, Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, today changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

796 171 [172] 90. "The cerimonial life of the "Tereno" and probably of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

91. 1950:217.

/53 cont./

773 Let us take as an illustration, and analyze in terms of the total culture, the myth of Yurikovuvakâi, the civilizing hero, who drew the Terêna from the depths of the earth and gave them fire, as well as all the implements necessary to their survival above ground. Concerning the origin of Yurikovuvakâi--which is of special interest to us here--the story or myth tells us, according to a version by Baldus, that "in the old days Orekajuvakâi were one alone, and when he was young his mother became angry because Orekajuvakâi did not want to go with her to the farm plot; she went to the plot, took out the scythe, and with it cut Orekajakâi in two pieces. The piece above the waist became people, and the other half people also." (92)

171 773 Baldus notes in this respect that "the Kaduveo, a Guaikuru tribe neighboring on the Tereno and like them originally from the Chaco, have a legend in which a woman cuts her son in two pieces, a child forming from each of the pieces, both children having the same name, Nareatedi." (93) The version 773 [115] we obtained, from the mouth of an old Terêna informant, of Cachoeirinha, shows Yurikovuvakâi as /54/ having a brother called Taipuvukê, slightly inferior to him; "one day they began to cut cloud to kill all because they did not want us to live; but the more they cut, the more the cloud grew. Then the two stopped cutting, because they grew tired, and each went his way." [616] It seems that we are in front of a myth that reconciles different stories that endeavor to present different aspects or temperaments of the mythical twins, and that, according to Rattray-Hay, (94) as we have seen, would explain

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92. 1950:218.

93. 1950:223.

94. 1928:109.

/54 cont./

773 the divergent behavior of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó moieties.
616 Compare the figures of Taipuvukê and Yurikoyuvakái (in our version) with that of Pitanoê, presented by Baldus as the civilizing hero, of the prankster type, "who gave the ancestors not only the seed of a leguminous plant whose beans are very important in Terêna food, but also a package which contained nothing but sand flies, and furthermore it was he who endeavored to fell the clouds by cutting them with an axe."(95)

There is no doubt that Pitanoê and Taipuyukê are the same mythical figure, while they represent the mischievous, irreverent, and aggressive side of the civilizing hero, Yurikoyuvakái.

Taipuyukê (or Pitanoê) and Yurikoyuvakái, both of them, through their divergent qualities, the mythical ancestors respectively of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó "moieties," seem to reflect, on the other hand, a slight superiority of one over the other, specifically of the Sukirikionó over the Xumonó. The version obtained by Altenfelder Silva, in this respect, is quite conclusive: "In the beginning there was only one Yurikoyuvakái who lived with his sister Livetchetchevena. Yurikoyuvakái cut the ray of the world. His sister planted a tree, and when it bore fruit, Yurikoyuvakái stole the fruit. Livetchetchevena got angry and cut him in the middle. From the upper part a Yurikoyuvakái arose; from the lower part there
[184] arose another. But the first was the master."(96) As is seen, despite the variations encountered as versions are compared, there is always in evidence, in one way or another, the superiority of one twin over the other. Whether this expresses the fact that at one time the moieties came /55/ to have asymmetric, nonceremonial relations, is a hypothesis we are

95. 1950:224.

96. 1949:349.

/55 cont./

773 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations
616 we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were
left with the impression that the Sukirikionó were regarded as
[177] slightly superior to the Xumonó. This, however, seems to be
a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the "cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed
114 in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography available and to the material we gathered in the field.
128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in contact with an expanding and technically superior society.
/Two plates appear here./ /Page 56 is blank./

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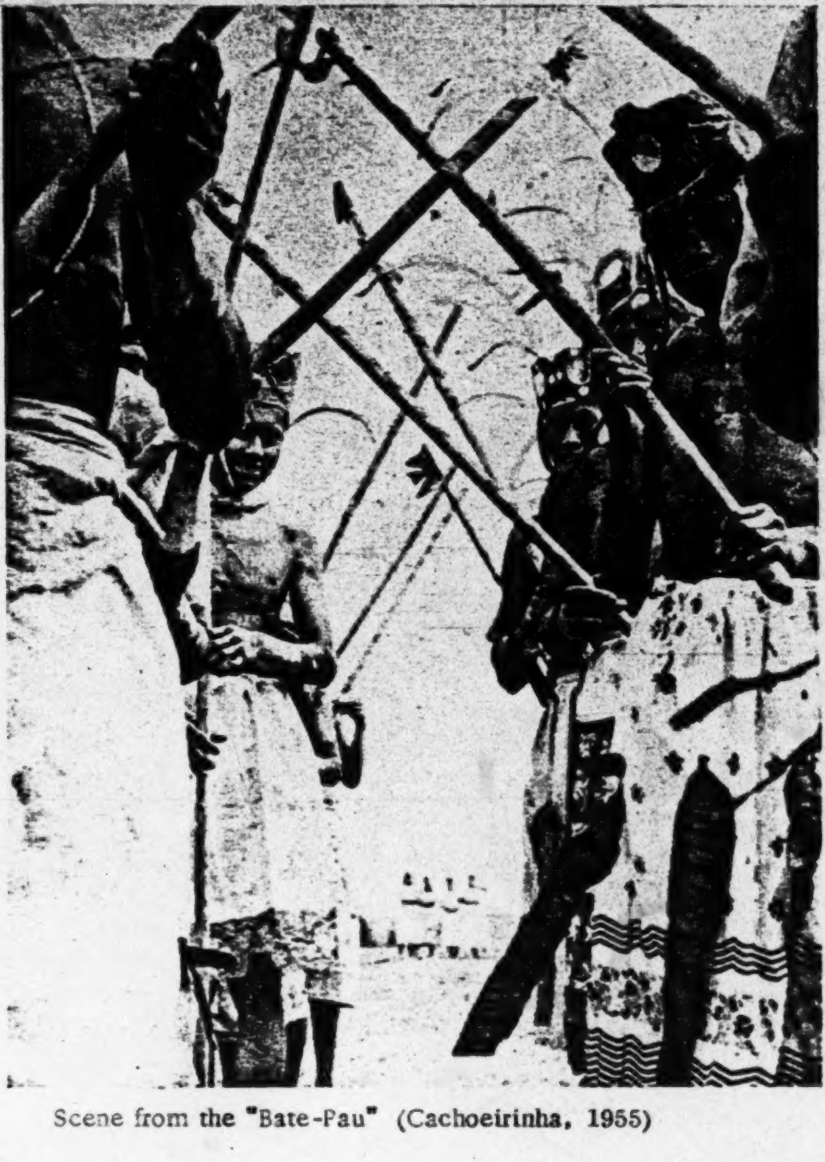

Scene from the "Bate-Pau" (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

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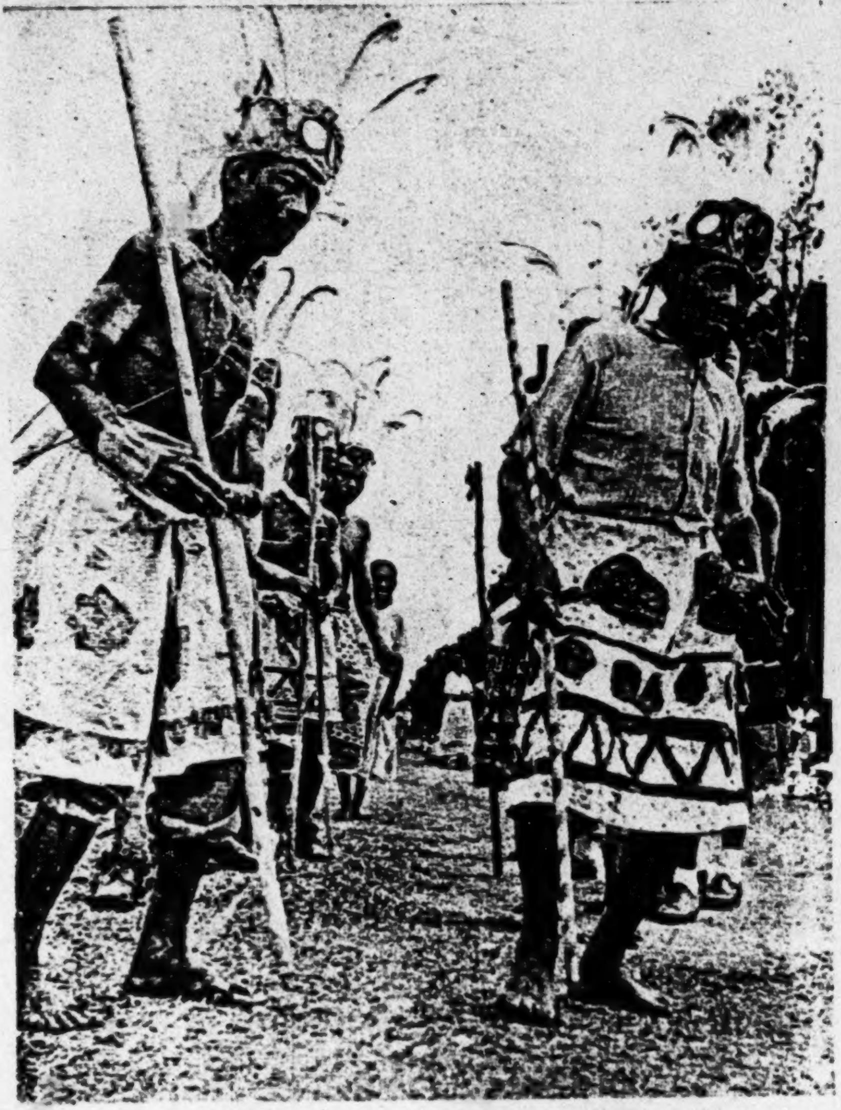

Scene from the "Bate-Pau," where the two groups, Harara-Iti and Hononé-Iti, appear, led by their respective "Caciques." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

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IV. History of Interethnic Relations

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At the end of the 18th century, when the Guaná groups moved to the eastern bank of the Paraguay River, the southern region of Mato Grosso was beginning to be invaded by a pastoral wave that was formed between the Paranaíba River and the Rio Grande, in the place known today as the Triângulo Mineiro. This might be termed the first wave of actual occupation of the lands of the Brazilian southwest. Up to that time, only bandeiras /armed bands for hunting Indians of the 17th century/ had penetrated into that territory, either to seize Indians or to cross the region on the way to the legendary Inca empire. (97)

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> 97. "In the beginning of the 18th century there was an increase in the incursions of the Paulistas /men from São Paulo/ into the southern lands of Mato Grosso, where they searched the area between the upper Parana and Paraguay /rivers/ for metals, since capturable Indians were already relatively scarce in the region." (Mario Monteiro de Almeida, 1951:60.)

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The occupation of this area by the bandeirantes /members of bandeiras/ never had a civilizing purpose, i.e., the bandeirantes never settled there in order to develop a productive activity; and while on the one hand, as shown by the writer Mario Monteiro de Almeida, (98) they carried the frontier of Brazil to the

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> 98. "For many years the Paulistas remained in the campos of Vacaria and Xeres. There, in those campos,

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> the members of one *bandeira* headed by Salvador Moreira, founded an encampment and set up farming for sustenance. Around 1660, Braz Moreira, brother of that *bandeira* chief, rebelled, along with some men from Sorocaba, and punishment was called for. A deposition dated July 28 of that year was drawn against the rebel for insubordination, at the encampment itself. The incident, documented by the scribe Antônio Alvares Maciel, shows, for the historic record, the fact of the *effective possession of the Vacaria glebes by the bandeirantes* (the italics are ours). In the foothill region of Mbotetei (Miranda), Pascoal Moreira and André Zuniga, in the course of three lustrums, between 1678 and 1695, had held their own in their stockaded campos, with their fleet of canoes engaged in the traffic of /Indian/ captives. The Portuguese '*uti-possidetis*' was being secured on these glebes." (*Op. cit.*, p. 49.)

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Paraguay basin, on the other hand they did serious injury to the indigenous populations. In the struggle that ensued between the "Paulistas" and the Jesuits /58/ and Spaniards for the expansion of their empires, the Indian got the worst of it: drawn

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into every camp, often fighting fellow Indians, he was the most despoiled, of his goods, his lands, his people. The pastoral wave, however, came to attend to more productive occupation, although it also represented a constant threat to the tribal groups that stood in its way.

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Let it be clear that we are speaking of a specific pastoral wave, national in character, and representing the natural expansion of the neo-Brazilian society. There is no doubt that the area formed by the tributaries of the left bank of the Paraguay (even where it is today Brazilian territory) was partially occupied by livestock, chiefly "baguá" livestock, the same variety of cows and horses the first heads of which were brought by D. Alvar Nunes Cabeça de Vaca in 1543; and the inroads to which they were subjected by sorties of the Guaikurú provoked the Spaniards, who were virtual owners of those herds, (99) to make minced meat of them.

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99. Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra tells us the scope of the slaughter carried out by the Spaniards among the Guaikurú. The chronicler tells us that from 1793 up to 1803, the date when he was writing, the Guaikurú created havoc in proportion to the Spaniards' advance with their fazendas, pushing them back or even destroying them and coming into possession of 20,000 horses, some cows, etc. The Spaniards then organized two slaughtering expeditions in 1796, killing the famous Guaikurú "captain," Queimá, ten other "captains," and 300 Indians; in 1797, another even larger /expedition/

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was led by Col. José Espinola to the Mondego River and recaptured 6,000 animals--which shows what large herds these Indians had come to own. (Cf. 1850 (b):383.)

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make minced meat of them. Only after the Paraguayan war did that area begin to be occupied by the pastoral wave coming from the "triângulo mineiro."

Nelson Werneck Sodré makes a deft analysis of this penetration: "Along the valley of the national river (the São Francisco) the significant touching of vaqueiros /vaqueros/ and bandeirantes took place. The one were in search of gold and were headed north. The others came looking for grazing lands and were headed south. Minas Gerais, already made into a capitania, separated from São Paulo, was to become a big distribution center, an outstanding condensation of populations and herds....Fording the first of the Paraná headwaters, the herds entered the western lands at the end of the 18th century. This was the beginning of the pastoral conquest, which would extend, uniformly, through almost all the territory known in the cycle of the bandeirantes and the cycle of the monções /name of the old bandeiras who set out in exploration in the interior, going down the Tietê and other rivers/ and to which pastoral conquest and expansion /59/ would give new lines, in their steady advance." (100) But the region actually occupied

100. 1941:58-59. In 1837, in a speech made at the opening of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Mato Grosso, José Antônio Pimenta Bueno said: "The initial opening of the Pequeri road has been for

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us the first arrival of settlers, who will arrive in ever increasing numbers, coming from the Province of Minas Gerais, where they do not find the fertile and unpopulated plains that draw them here for their benefit and ours." (1840: 170-71.)

G H 175 167 G [101] But the region actually occupied by the Guaná--called Itatins at the time--was to take in almost simultaneously two human contingents of distinct origins; and it may even be said that this encounter was the closing point in the pastoral penetration, i.e., the meeting point of two segments of the same frontier, coming from the northeast and channeled through the funnel formed by the Parnaíba River and the Rio Grande: while one segment came toward the south, fording the Paraná River and entering the region of fine campos called Vacaria, another headed west to Coxim, probably incorporating people from Cuiabá, and closed the circle in the region of the Taquari and Miranda rivers.(101) We believe

H 175 167 101. "For tens of years, the old regions of the Taquari and Miranda, the latter formerly campos de Xeres, from the river banks to the banks of the Apa, as well as the Vacaria plateau, formerly llanos de Yguari, extending to the Iguatemi, had remained in their natural uncultivated state, left to the exclusive rule of the inhabitant. -- On the right bank of the

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On the right bank of the Miranda, through the years, since its foundation in 1797, there survived only the fort of the same name, surrounded by some aldeas of Guanás, Quiniquinaus, and Guaxis.-- In the Vacaria region, the beautiful campos of native forage stretched to the horizon, like a green, softly billowing ocean dotted with small spots of thickets.... These campos were to remain isolated from civilization for many years. At the same time, during the third decade (of the 19th century), on the banks of the Parnaíba and in the valleys of the tributaries of the Paraguay River, the settlement of those vast lands isolated in the heart of Brazil began." (Mário Monteiro de Almeida, op. cit., pp. 227-228.) See also Nelson Werneck Sodré, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

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We believe that only in the mid-19th century, shortly before the Paraguayan war, did the Guaná become conscious of the consequences of this pastoral frontier. Up to then, the bulk of the regional livestock--as we have said--seems to have come from Paraguay. And one might rightfully assume that this wave did not present a favorable demographic index for permanent settlement: the size of the glebes and the extreme mobility of livestock rearing, along with a sparse population, would hardly have presented

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conditions favorable to settling with the idea of setting up "latifundia."(102) It seems that /60/ the most convenient technique consisted in the setting up of more or less improvised retiros /isolated ranchos/ in an attempt to cope with the mobility and unpredictability of a herd ever in search of new and better pastures.

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It was with the arrival of a second human wave that the Guaná region, especially the area between the Miranda and Aquidauana rivers, came to hold a considerably augmented population. As shown by Werneck Sodré,(103) it was with the

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102. Here is the testimony of João Henrique Elliot, who passed through the region in 1844: "All the land from here (Miranda fort) to the Maracaju range, over a distance of 24 leagues, is a continuous plain of clear campo, with a few thickets of brush; there is an enormous quantity of deer and rhea birds, but for the present there are few dwellers." (1848:168.)

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103. "The war ended, and ended on the western borders, in the theater of Cerro-Corá, with the last episode on the banks of the Aquidabã, the province had in its territory appreciable companies of soldiers regimented for its defense, who had

Historical Brazil SL2
Historical Paraguay SK2

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been used in the retaking of Corumbá, the former Albuquerque, and in mopping up the territory previously invaded by enemy forces. Many of these elements were made up of people who had come from other parts of Brazil, in battalions formed in other provinces. --The fighting over, demobilization began. And the demobilization had the interesting consequence of contributing to the settlement, in the western lands, of the elements who had ranged over it in the service of war. When the job of delimiting boundaries was over, appreciable groups of former soldiers just stayed there." (Op. cit., p. 101.)

G H 175 167 148

close of the Paraguayan war and, therefore, after 1869, that a considerable portion of the Brazilian army, demobilized in those parts, chose to remain there instead of returning to their places of origin. That author indicates that these elements, in great part, came from the northeast and from Bahia, from places where the rural populations were characterized by constant migration. And, while these contingents of demobilized soldiers began to occupy the region with typical fazendas, we must also note the penetration of Paraguayan elements, who, when the fighting was over, in large numbers began to enter a territory of richer economic prospects and where they could get better positions than a wasted and fallen Paraguay could offer.

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Historical Paraguay SK2

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offer.(104) As we shall see further on, more than the war itself,

104. "Exhausted by the effort spent, which was tremendous, and wasted by the consequences of a struggle in which it had been totally involved, Paraguay was to begin the infiltration of their elements into the western lands. Everything contributed to this end. These belonged to them in their own eyes. They had ranged over them in the past. They were familiar with them. The separation by the boundaries, definitively established, along the Maracaju range and the waters of the Apa, as a continuation of those of the Paraguay, was not a serious hindrance." (Ibid.) And the author writes farther on: "Quebracho, maté, and livestock were the three propelling spurs to the human expansion in southern Mato Grosso, an expansion directed from Paraguay." (Idem., p. 106.) Moreover, it is the existence of this infiltration that will enable us to understand the great Paraguayan influence on the regional indigenous and neo-Brazilian customs.

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it was this second human /61/ wave which, as its consequence, was to adjust to the Guaná groups and, especially, the Terêna,

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HP a new situation with dramatic consequences for them, consider-
175 167 ing it determined the enlistment of these populations into a
648 slave-oriented economy. The modern Terêna refer to this
G period as the "time of captivity."(105)
[173]

G H 175 648 H 567

105. This situation of captivity lasted until the beginning of this century, when in 1904 Rondon, building the Telegraphic and Strategic Lines, passed through there and compelled the liberation of those Indians--many of whom worked on the building of the line--a liberation consummated with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios in 1910 (cf. Missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

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H The third human wave and, we can say, contemporary
175 167 one, began with the connecting of São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança
496 through the Noroeste do Brasil railroad (NOB). Its construction,
H begun in 1905 in Bauru, and in 1908 in Pôrto Esperança, was
[653] only completed in 1914, when the tracks from west and east
met.(106) The possibilities for the economic development of

106. Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

the region increased considerably and began with this to attract ever larger human contingents. And, while it is true that the progress brought by the railroad to the northwest of São Paulo state was never comparable to that brought to the lands of

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Mato Grosso, it is no less true to say that the NOB fostered the rise of a new human wave whose characteristic continuity and stability brought to Mato Grosso the seeds of a progress that we are still witnessing. The economic and demographic increase brought to Mato Grosso by the NOB changed the regional urban landscape, stimulated the creation of new population nuclei--which were being born along the railroad--, and thus imprinted a special character upon the indigenous configuration in that extensive area of southern Brazil.(107)

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107. "However, if in Mato Grosso the railroad did not determine the metamorphosis produced in the São Paulo zone, it did have an influence on the growth and transformation of towns and cities in the interior, along the railroad, such as Três Lagôas (with 5,154 inhabitants in 1940), Campo Grande, the traditional cattle-trading center of southern Mato Grosso (already with 23,054 inhabitants in 1940), Aquidauana (with 5,773), and others even beyond the end of the tracks, served by river navigation, such as Corumbá (13,319 inhabitants in 1940), which prospered with the introduction of the new means of transportation, leading to the decline of small urban centers in favor of the larger agglomerations along the railroad line. To get an

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idea of the impetus given in a quarter century, from 1914 to 1940, to the settlement of these regions, it will be sufficient to note that the population of the four municípios of Três Lagoas (15,378 inhabitants), Campo Grande (49,629), Aquidauana (20,949), and Miranda (14,126) climbed during this period to more than 100,000 inhabitants, or more than five-times the population estimated before the construction of the railroad." (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:131-132.)

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/62/ The importance of these nuclei to the Terêna population (108)

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108. Of the Guaná groups, aside from the Terêna, who survived, as a group, up to the first decade of this century, there were the Kinikinâu, who up to 1908 had an aldea by the Agaxi River. In 1925 there were no more than 15 individuals there, detribalized and about to move to Lalima.

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cannot be over-emphasized: these neo-Brazilian settlements became most potent foci of attraction to the Terêna and, thus, began to act more intensely as agencies of culture change. In this sense, the relations between Miranda and Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Lalima aldeas (especially the last)

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175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the 172 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the [361] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of [128] these cities[1] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 177 797 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

[162] 109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the [101] neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

[1] [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana --Analyst]

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175 isolated of the Guaná groups. According to Azara--who got
177 information on them in the same century--the Terêna were
797 represented by two groups, one still living in the Chaco, near
131 [262] the Kinikináu, the other "east of the Paraguay River, below the
21° parallel, on a chain of small mountains that they called
'Echatiyá,' and east of another called 'Nogoná'." (110) Nevertheless,
we cannot know which of these groups had received the
missionary or whether, at the time referred to by the Terêna
informants (cf. note 109) all of them were still in the Chaco--
175 which seems to be more probable. Still in the 18th century--
177 at its close--there is some information /63/ we owe to Alexandre
797 Rodrigues Ferreira according to which a Guaná *aldea* had been
visited by a religious; (111) the local group referred to as having

110. 1809, II:87.

111. Rodrigues Ferreira relates that Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, with an escort of 45 soldiers, "left on 13 February last (1791), and having traveled downriver for two and a half days, disembarked at a port on the east bank of the (Paraguay) river, where he mounted a horse and proceeded inland for about a quarter of a league, and there found the first quarters. From these he went eight leagues to the east, the second one, which was called "of the Guimarães." Five leagues further on in the same direction, he reached the third, which was of the Guaicurus." (Ms., sheets 3 and 4.)

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175 177 797 [184] been visited could hardly have been Terêna, but was in all probability an "Echoaladi" or "Echoarana" subgroup. To judge by the 18th-century chronicles, the contact of the Terêna with Catholic missionaries was almost nil, and of very little consequence for the tribal culture, unlike other Guaná groups (like the Layâna and Exoaladi) quite frequently referred to by Labrador and Azara. But, even in the following century, the data left by the chroniclers regarding missionary work among the Terêna do not show that religious proselytism was intensified: referring generically to the Guaná in the middle of the century, Joaquim Alves Ferreira says that these Indians were "in the state of recovering from their intellectual and religious education" (112) and suggests that it would be very desirable--for a policy of national integration of these groups--"if missionaries were to go and reside among them"; (113) 20 years later, Visconde de Taunay, living among the Guaná Indians of the Miranda region, wrote that these Indians lived in the "greatest ignorance and indifference as far as religion is concerned." (114)

These depositions serve to show that if the other Guaná groups had not received effective catechizing, the Terêna--frequently

112. 1905:83.

113. 1905:92.

114. 1931:21; "The catechizing is still lagging and has been poorly directed. Few Kinikinâus know the significance of the cross and only some Guanás recite our prayers." (*Ibid.*)

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175 177 neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were
[797] much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.

Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of informa-
[622] tion on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the
[184] caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region
are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their
[178] leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward
[797] a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

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the other groups, leading to the loss of much of the traditional culture. After a long interruption of these relations, at the time of the incursions of men of São Paulo /Paulistas/, in the year 1761, the padre, José Sanches Labrador newly visited, for the first time, the Guaná, more precisely the Chaná. With the padre, Don Manuel Duran, an attempt was made to create a lasting mission among the Guaná, who always showed good receptivity. These attempts, however, proved fruitless owing to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Two years later, a new attempt was made to carry forward missionary work, by Franciscan monks; the lack of means, however, led them to desist in 1772." (1903: 326-327.) This shows that missionary activity itself never had the continuity necessary to lead to a significant change among the Terêna groups, in view of the fact that the other Guaná groups, despite the more intensive contact they

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> had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 177 797 184 [10] Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna communities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

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> 117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikinâu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikinâus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

175 648 /65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

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175 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date
648 back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and
184 show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the
Kinikinâu playing a much more decisive role in the regional
economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more
isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While
[427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on
[439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and
the Kinikinâu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)
[464] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

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175 120. "The Quiquinâus,
162 more than 800 in number,
361 form an aldea in the afore-
said Mato Grande, three
leagues northwest of
241 Albuquerque. They engage
439 in farming and furnish this
part of our frontier with
manioc flour and beans."
(Leverger, 1862:222.)

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648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand
we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser in-
tensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned
Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population.
The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by
others with the national society or with the missions leads us
to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to
contact, followed by the Kinikinâu, and, lastly--among the
groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi
("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikinâus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of
Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and
the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuêus assumed an
attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the
Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikinâus were the first to climb the Maracaju
range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful
plain that tops that range ...." (121)

121. 1948:268.

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175 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
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121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

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123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

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175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretching
162 from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of
the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply engraved
537 in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 *heroic phase* of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an
awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we
were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the
Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha *aldea*, the principal themes of
which were *captivity* and the *Paraguayan war*; on this latter
theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had
fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as
All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the
month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades),
that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of
the dead; but such themes--including *captivity*--were not only
found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of
which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar
as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression
that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its
history. (124)

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124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

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121 Philosophy of the University of São Paulo formulates with great acuity the problems of the relationship between history and the awareness of history in "primitive groups."

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648 Another important episode in the history of the relations between the Terêna and our society was the passage of Rondon through the region where they were found distributed in a situation of extreme dependence on the neighboring big
B fazendeiros and "colonels." (125) At the head of the Tele-
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125. Cf. note 105.

graphic Lines Commission--whose task was to connect the capital with the southern regions of Mato Grosso--, Rondon also took note of the indigenous populations he encountered
G wherever he passed through installing telegraphic posts. Thus
[341] he observes while building the Miranda branch, "the line crossed right through the former Quiniquinau aldea, today
G abandoned and already invaded by fazendeiros who took over
[162] these lands." (126) Incidentally, this statement well shows

126. Missão Rondon, 1949:81.

how the Kinikinâu had disappeared: as they were robbed of their lands, they dispersed through the fazendas or through the aldeas of their Terêna brethren. (127) And let it be emphasized

127. Cf. note 108.

with what difficulty the Terêna would have survived if their lands too--at least the lands they now occupy--, had been taken from them.

Brazil/SL1
Historical Brazil SL2

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taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service. While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904, and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

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128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

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goods, and of all the plans made with the aim of helping them (Cf. Almeida Serra, 1850:391-93; Alincourt, 1857:362-63), the authorities of the Colônia did not succeed in developing a help-oriented policy, no matter how rudimentary. Here is what the president of the province of Mato Grosso said in 1837: "...for the catechizing and civilizing of the Indians, I do not trust any armchair plans or directives made without any experience or reliable knowledge of the customs, disposition, and characteristics of each of the tribes. In order to domesticate the nations I mentioned, we had to go to tremendous expense, and where the Lower Paraguay is concerned, the only spot where we met with some success, the aid of favorable occurrences /was needed/; insofar as, surrounded by enemy nations and subjected to the forts and military forces which we have maintained there at all times, they had no recourse other than to accept our repeated

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gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

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At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

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129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

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241 make hammocks and various
286 fabrics. --In their aldeamentos
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295 /villages/ they plant orange
trees, lime trees, lemon trees,
citron trees, and guava trees.
G They raise cows and horses
231 and they are excellent
463 vaquerios." (Ibid.)

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B And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros,
464 "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also
465 prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough
to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

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B 130. Idem: 83. "They are
466 frequently exploited by the
426 fazendeiros.--It is hard to
find a Terêna camarada
who does not owe his master
the very hairs on his head. --
They once told me that a
rich fazendeiro is in the
habit, at the beginning of
each year, of gathering his
Terêna camaradas and telling
them his settlement of
accounts. To each he repeats
the amount of his
debt, along with facetious
comments. After confronting
them with their debts,
he closes the episode with an
extraordinary act of generosity.
He subtracts a substantial percentage
from their respective

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debts, so that they will not be overburdened during the new fiscal year.--The poor Indians, convinced that their master is a well of kindness, leave happy and in the evening give themselves up to the usual amusements, so that the new debt starts growing at once; the debt is reopened with the consumption of alcohol to celebrate the master's generosity.--Actually, the wretched *camaradas* owe nothing to the usurer; first of all, because their services are not paid what they are worth, but at a reduction that benefits the master alone; secondly, because in the sales made by the master to the *camaradas*, the latter are cheated to such an extent that they never manage to get back to their feet in their trading relations with him.--Whence a new type of slavery, whose preservation is upheld by the state police whenever one of these *camaradas*, tired of putting up with a bad master, gathers the courage to leave him and seek out a new life."--And the report adds: "No '*camarada*' with an account can leave his

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> G master unless the new one
> B assumes responsibility for
> 466 the debt or indemnifies
> 426 him at once. And, if
> he dares to run away, he
> almost invariably runs the
> risk of suffering vexations,
> blows, and not infrequently
> death, the police being
> in every case a participant
> in such outrages." (Ibid.)

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466 Incidentally, we heard from the Terêna a large number of
173 stories which corroborate, with a wealth of details, these ob-
128 servations relating to 1904. In Cachoeirinha, for example,
[115] we met old Xuri, a doctor-sorcerer staying temporarily in the
[756] community, who had been born in the above-mentioned Cutape
fazenda, and who had been a witness to the vicissitudes his
people had undergone as they were exploited on the regional
labor market.

B "A curious thing," the report goes on.--"In the povoados
624 /settlements/ and in the towns the police are always in the
625 hands of the fazendeiros themselves, who are the authorities,
either as justices of the peace, or as deputies or sub-deputies
/delegados or sub-delegados/. The soldiers are enlisted by
them and from then on regarded as their own camáradas. It is
the fazendeiros who furnish them with provisions and give them
their pay and their marching rations. The soldiers work for
them as vaqueiros and farmers, and do any task that the
fazendeiro, as a police official, may order them to do.--There
can be no supervision against these abuses, because there is true
solidarity among the rich men who take turns in this usufruct." (131.)

131. Idem:83-84.

G /69 cont. /
B And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keep-
466 ing the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be
178 said that there has not been a marked change since the time
B when the native laborer became the object of special attention
657 on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the
S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more
subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be
said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up
to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to
the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with
the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep
benefiting by this. (132)

G 132. In the last pages of his
114 thesis, Fernando Altenfelder
177 gives a very good summary of
797 the history of the Terêna,
with the aim of giving an
idea of the process of cultural
change undergone by the
G Bananal community. The
[184] role of the "Inland South
America Missionary Union,"
pointed out by Altenfelder
as a basic element in the
most recent changes under-
gone by those Indians,
cannot, nevertheless, be
generalized to apply to the
other communities, in view
of the fact that in many of
them no Protestant mission-
aries ever managed to settle.

/70 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their
institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in
which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to
the same degree in all the local groups, although the settle-
ment cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall
endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in
particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which
emerge from a comparison between their communities. The
historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in
this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop
before which it will become easier to understand the present-
day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
361 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[162] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as
[162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering
[103] perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe,
six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during
the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when
the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through
a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to
believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna
Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

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133. Taunay, 1948:267.

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/71 cont./

175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
361
103
342
[114]

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

135. Ibid.

103 361 174 [173] The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connection of these names, evidently regional--with the exception of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegüe, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminikũ, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminikũ; Naxedaxe, already referred to by [621] Taunay; Sinikué, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

/72 cont./

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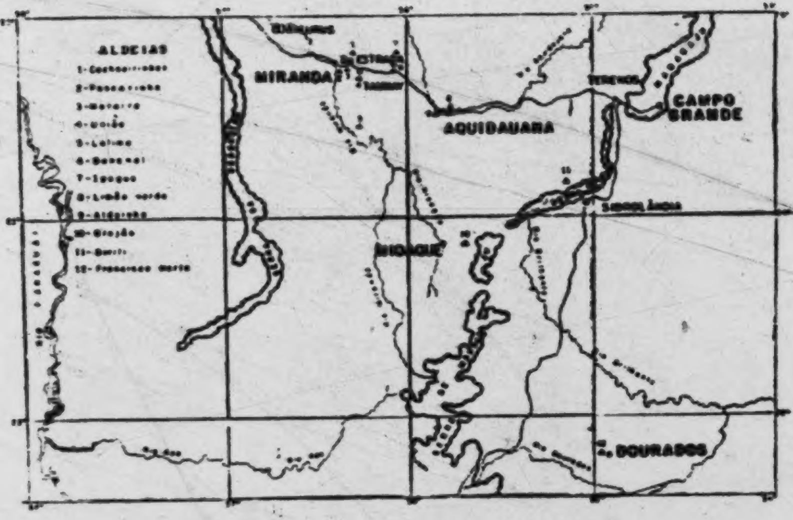

Map. 2. Distribution of the aldeas.
/See p. 103a for enlarged version of this map./

361/166 This was the configuration of the Terêna local groups at the time of the Paraguayan war. Between then and now, some of the aldeas disappeared, local groups moved, others were incorporated into more stable tribal communities. But the fact is that the Terêna population, in spite of having been /two plates appear here/ /73/ robbed of most of its territory or, probably, for this very reason, spread through a wide area and began to occupy small niches which were suitable for its settling, no matter in how precarious a fashion. 361/178 648 [657] Some of these places were made into native reservations by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, while others still await this step, without which the remaining local groups will not be able to withstand the encirclement and pressure of the regional society toward taking

[text continues on p.104]

3:Oliveira--103a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

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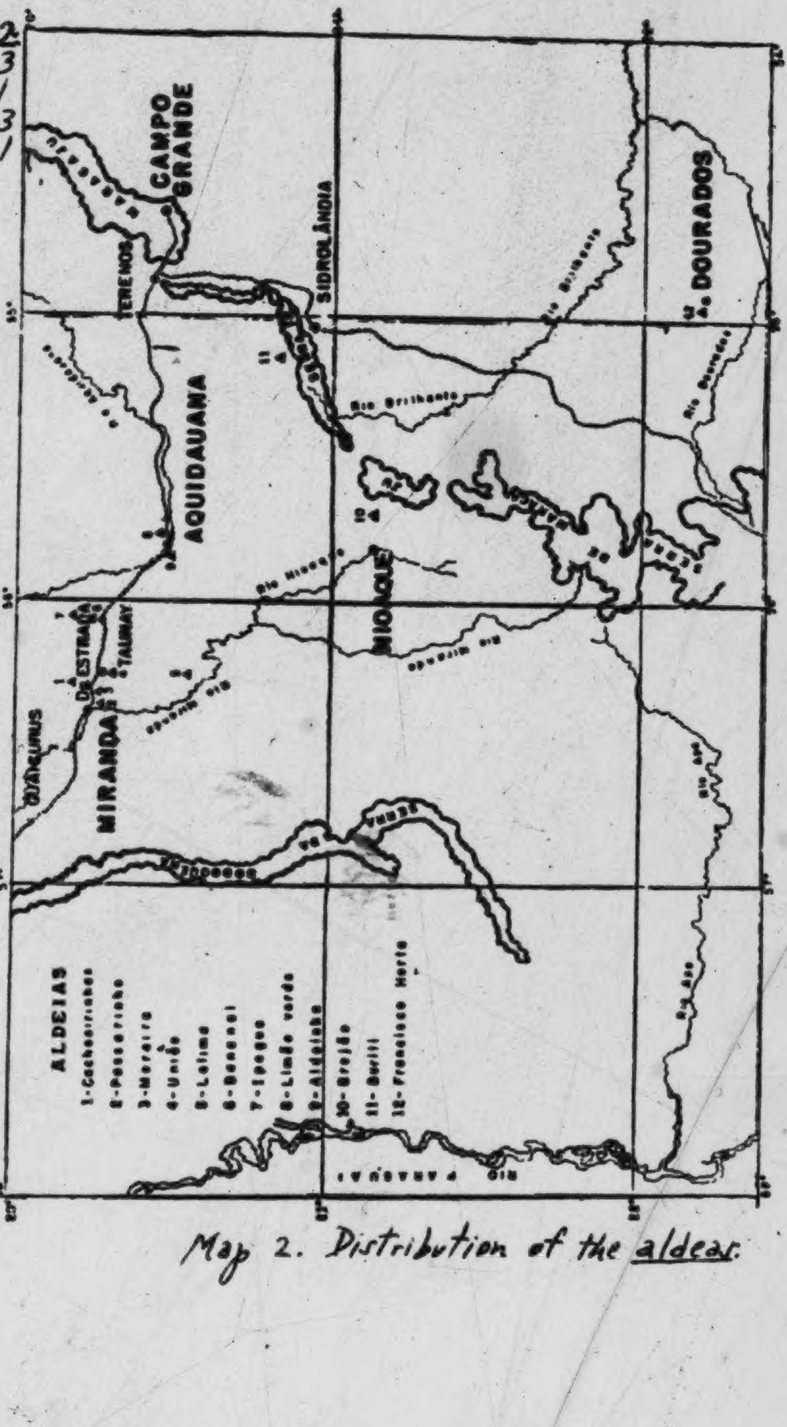
ALDEIAS
1-Cachoeirinhas
2-Passarinho
3-Moreira
4-União
5-Lalima
6-Bananal
7-Ipegue
8-Limão verde
9-Aldeinha
10-Brejão
11-Buriti
12-Francisco Horta
GUAICURUS
MIRANDA
ESTRADA
TAUNAY
AQUIDAUANA
TERENOS
CAMPO GRANDE
SIDROLÂNDIA
NIOAQUE
DOURADOS
Rio Paraguai
Rio Apa
Rio Dourados
Rio Brilhante
Rio Nioaque
Rio Miranda

Map 2. Distribution of the aldeas.

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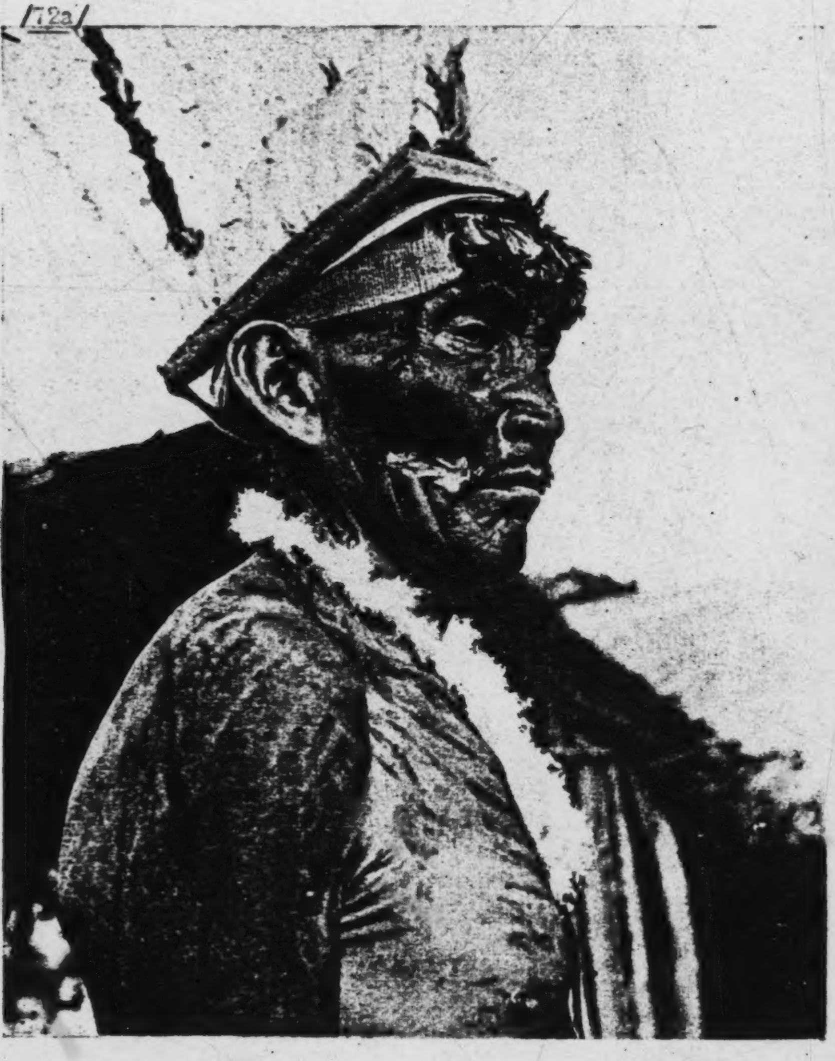

Gonçalo, a Layâna survivor and the most highly regarded Koixomuneti in Cachoeirinha. (1955)

Layâna

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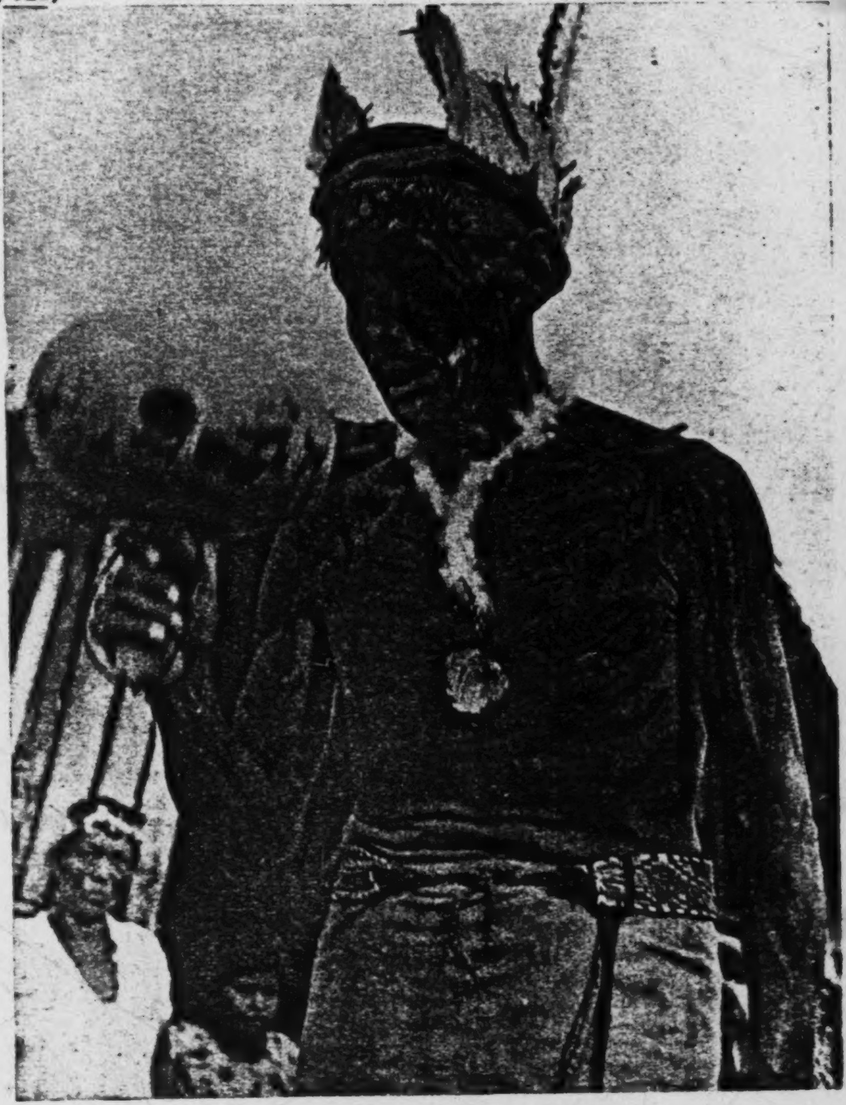
534
756



Gonçalo at "work." (1955)

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit, moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12 communities, which will be the subject of ecological characterization in the present chapter, we might point out two other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter, Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

/74 cont./

162 themselves as members of an indigenous group as long as they 619 can identify their relatives who live in aldeas, and visit them 574 at the time of the "national holidays" of the tribe. But the 128 situation of these families, along with that of those who live in the cities, will be examined in Chapter VII, when we shall study Terêna mobility as a factor of economic integration and as a function of the assimilation process.

We shall now endeavor to give an idea of each of the 12 aldeas visited, focusing on an ecological point-of-view, while--in the next chapter--we shall analyze their socio-cultural structures.

Cachoeirinha

361 Cachoeirinha is an aldea situated three and a half leagues from the city of Miranda and eight kilometers from the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada, a small station of the 162 Noroeste do Brasil railroad. The regional census carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in 1954, gave that aldea 834 inhabitants. (137) And if we compare the successive

[128]
[125]

137. In a previous work we examined Cachoeirinha in greater detail, making use of demographic data gathered by us in 1957 in the field. We abstain from using them here so as not to impair the comparative analysis with the other Terêna communities, since for the latter we merely have census data up to 1954. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958 (b).

Cachoeirinha

/74 cont./

162 161 And if we compare the successive censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoeirinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until it reached the figure obtained in 1954. 175 648 Before 1919, we can only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed.... 175 648 166 [466] Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea, taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 621 [648] Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the community. [622] Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands out. [368] In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

Cachoeirinha

/75 cont./

361 post, that of the school, and that of the church. (138) It is

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368

797 138. The only church in Cachoeirinha is Catholic; two North American padres of the Order of Redemptorists are located in Miranda and Aquidauna from where they go through the Terêna aldeas.

798 The community is characterized by its resistance to the entry of Protestant missionaries, and its members are called Catholics, but by self-definition. There are only two Protestant families, both of whom came from Bananal.

361 made up of 53 ranchos and, at the time when we were there,
621 we counted 309 persons in this area alone. Nevertheless, it
526 might be said that this nucleus is divided into two "bairros /barrios/," Cachoeirinha proper and Cruzeiro, at present very little differentiated, but which in times past were to some ex-
363 tent rival groups with their own futebol teams. It should be added that these 53 ranchos are distributed in squares duly divided into streets, with leafy mango trees and rich vegetation, where quite wide and grassy streets stand out.

Argola is the name given to a former aldeamento which, as its name /"ring"/ indicates, follows a circular arrangement of its houses, probably as a survival from the traditional Terêna aldeamentos. Today, this name is used to designate 23 ranchos and their respective /76/ land plots, located in the same place as the original Argola and, for this reason, keeping the same name.

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
621 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156] 139. The interviews we had
[829] with these families, as well
as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent
[464] in Cachoeirinha. One of
[159] the most immediate results
is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 241 Finally, both in Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus, [231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central [417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 621 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikinâu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of 434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the 439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as [556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361] 140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

[Cachoeirinha]

/77 cont./

361
439 name and with which a few Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

621 Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

/78 cont./ [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural [162] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 366 [491] The means of communication of these aldeas connect them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hardware and drinks. 648 439 361 The native post, located in Passarinho, has not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

[104] 141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

648 439 366

> being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

491 628 This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

621 578 166 [292] União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a [422] [872] 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União."

159 In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

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143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 875 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 872 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea, since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies. [795 162] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União" includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 312 628 If we compare the three population nuclei of Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which naturally displeases the Indians. [233 247] The latter own cattle and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "domestic farming." 361 312 Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./
361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells, 312 of which there are not more than three for both villages; [762] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the 128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze 184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived [648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 162 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurû, Kinikinâu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwêu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com- 173 166 648 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso
166 telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the
648 fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands,
whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon
175 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the
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361
data we obtained from an examination of the archives of
the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that
they contradict them; they state that the Indians who
make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar
to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but
also in their customs, even though they have never had
[648] friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima
aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

[Lalima]

/80 cont./
175 lands that were set aside for them by the Crown and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although
already located there for a long time, probably since the
18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that
area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained
fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos
Índios.

621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the Relatório Anual
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the aldea as populated by 130 per-
[175] sons, 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what
the S. P. I. inspector wrote, it was a Guaikurú population.
Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of
261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only
explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other
tribes, especially Kinikinâu and Terêna. It seems that
this was the time when Lalima reached its highest popu-
lation. After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261
inhabitants; Indians settled in the aldea during the year,
3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other aldeas, 24;
deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of
the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved
621 out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
162 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço
de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso
gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we
registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

621 population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
/62 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[795]
[798] 145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Bananal.

361 The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[134] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
361 the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[368] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by
the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures
and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder
233 is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
241 characterized by being an *aldea* tied to pastoral activity, in
464 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm
plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the *município*. Very few families own cattle, and only a small
number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside
are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda,
and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] *aldea* to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a
"*bolicho*" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of
frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most
common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most
conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 *aldeas* close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the
tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the
most important are the Kinikinâu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the
latter was the one that became the group to show the greater
mobility.

/82 cont./

Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous *aldeas*, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are
[491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are situated in the Aquidauana *município*, and between them and
[496] Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

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621 The first accurate census data available compel us to deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two *aldeas*--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over
166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "*colônias*" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and
161 Aquidauana *municípios*. And in spite of the departure of a
162 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around
621 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

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[113] 146. Consulting the 1921 report of the Mato Grosso Inspetoria, we read: "The Indians keep coming in but they already feel that Bananal and Ipegue cannot hold them much longer; and they are shifting to

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/83 cont./

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621
[795]
[578]

Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is
interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a
homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered
separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira
and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in
earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native
Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant
church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house,
as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes, who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[623] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands, probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./
175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the
Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries
of the *Inland South America Missionary Union* were, in 1920,
expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of
this organization, North American missionaries of the *South
America Indian Mission* settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the *aldea*,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the *aldea* were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants
(or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful,
and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the
Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we
have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose
between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later
was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as
Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho,
where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a
score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the *aldea*, made
up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these
concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or
less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

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148. *Ibid.*

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the
geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy
reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one
in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal
have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem
of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal,
excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[368] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central
nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate
to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue
stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we
find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the
other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the
reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha
and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central
nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected
not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira,
Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The
major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal,
in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to
supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and
Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far
more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/86 cont./

Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927
there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this
census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
does not specify the distribution of this population between the
two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individ-
uals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
[423] and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve
them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And
up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
175 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it
was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from
São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman,
at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his
glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho,
one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place
called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle
and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and
went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds
in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left
vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the
chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde.
His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post,
moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through
Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of
both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 621 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 361 368 871 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho, where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

[Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

/88 cont./
439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for export
are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unrefined
464 sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
177 197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multiethnic
community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the insistence
of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[295] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[text continues on p.127]

3:Oliveira--126a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88a/

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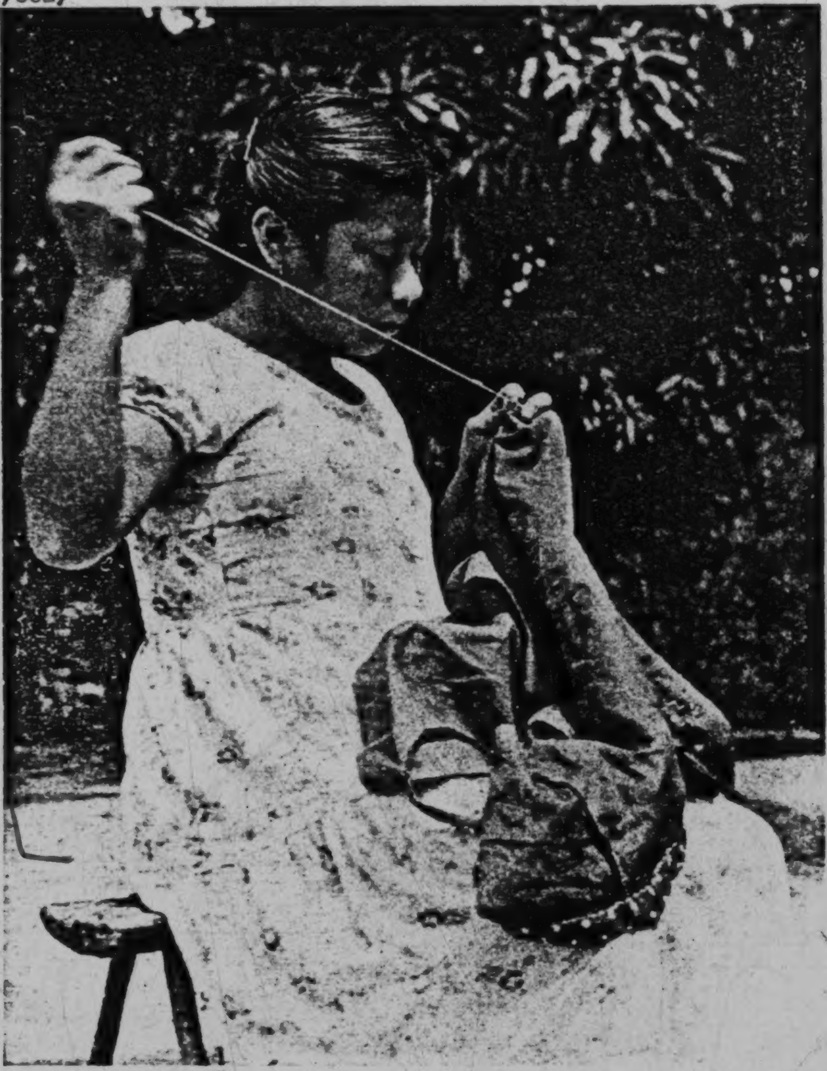

Terêna girl working on her trousseau. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

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3:Oliveira--126b E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88b/

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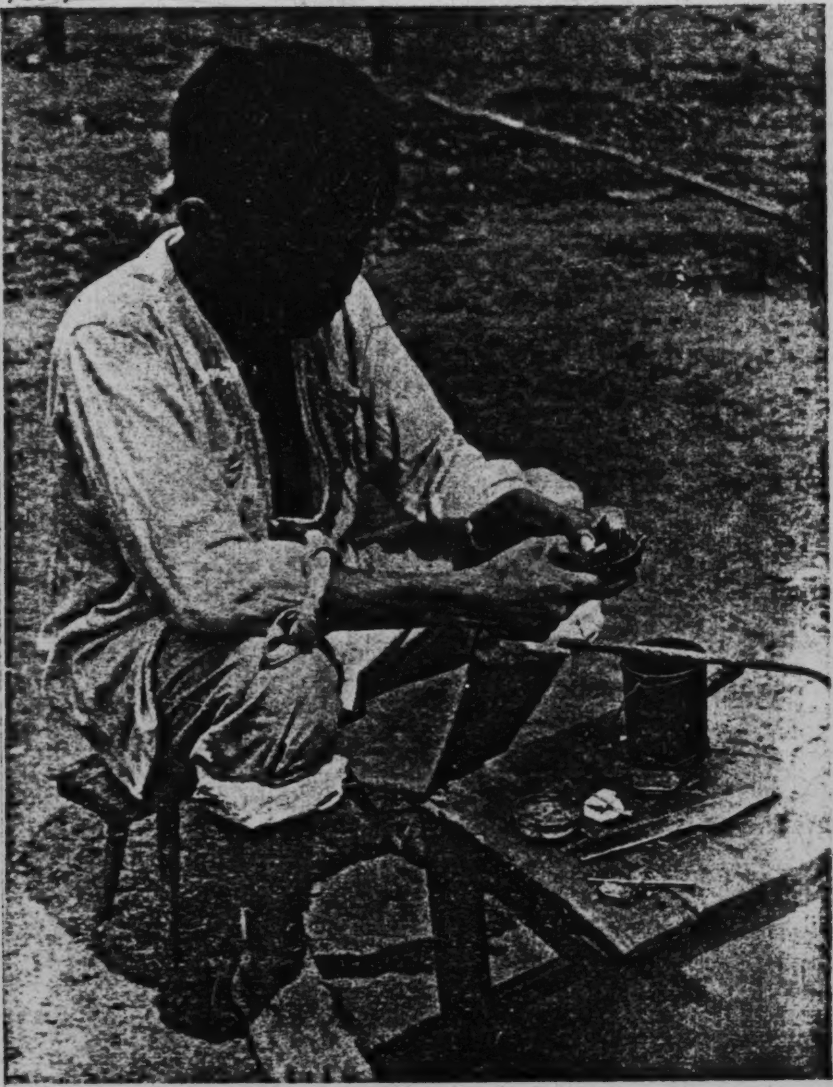

Terêna Indian, metalsmith. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot
621 discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two
797 hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all proba-
795 bility, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to
the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority
must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and
the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among
the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It
[622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already
had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for ex-
ample, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna
of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community
regarded today as Protestant.

162 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said
621 that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a
[144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by
those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure"
Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos
(the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure"
Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are
"Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is
Kinikinâu (one not being included). It should be explained
101 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language
829 for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact
that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the
648 city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city,
[241] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is
divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small
[462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and,
naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic
workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community
have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city
and they are constantly sought out in the aldeã itself with
offers of employment.

[Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

/90 cont./

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-pique"
368 and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[797] about not having one to teach its own children....This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only because
of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buying
uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occupies
621 an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /titulo/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

175 /90 cont./ A document of the
361 Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the
621 Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present
[162] "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of
Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals,
scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates
at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time,
had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju
range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

[113] 149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family,
seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea,
[166] close to the present one and also within the reservation. The
[648] "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that
move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due
to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any
175 manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the
621 area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922,
648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel
Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso.
[162] Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year
following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among
[166] whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of
those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of
Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further
[162] on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather
small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into
621 "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]
361 Native Post, is central only because it comprises the post
621 building, along with the Catholic church and six Indian dwellings; in the second nucleus, called Água Branca aldea, there is the bulk of the "reservation" population, with 14 ranchos on the banks of the Urumbeva and quite close to the old aldea of Laranjal. Água Branca is actually the oldest population concentration, surpassing by far the other nucleus, which is more important only from an administrative standpoint, since
872 the native post is built in it. The official aldea school
875 operates in the post building, its teacher is the captain's daughter, and it is attended only by the children of nearby homes. Thus, all of the child and youth population of Água Branca, which naturally includes most of the children in the community, is excluded from the official school and is served only by a small private school headed by a Terêna "Believer." (150)

872
798 150. This school in "Água Branca" was built only recently. In 1955, when we were there, there was only the post school, and the inhabitants of Brejão, as a rule, implied that they wanted nothing to do with "Believers."
872
628 Nevertheless, the above-mentioned group from Aldeinha--led by old "Neco"--organized a "passeio" /"walk"/ (the term used by the informant) to "Água Branca" and, as a result, the visitors were invited
[341]
[875] to build a school there. With four men from Aldeinha and some helpers from "Água Branca"

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 they erected a spacious shed
628 and left there a teacher, at a
346 salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a
875 month, recruited from the
Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--
neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikinâu
survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia,"
Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements.
It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia,"
but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close
contact and intensive trade relations with the native community.
The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc
flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/,
and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the
statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community
plants for its own consumption the following species: rice,
/sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in
the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in
Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[349] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that
on the reservation there is no building that might be called
a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private
homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics.
As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts
to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture
change in the community are limited to the post, practically

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna *aldeas*, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
112 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[101] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied
by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

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621
648
423
[113]

151. The *Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso* for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, *município* of Aquidauana, whose *aldeamento*, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 of the consolidation of lands,
621 mines, and colonization,
648 Decree No. 130, of June 4,
423 1902, that you should see fit
to designate as a reservation
for the above-mentioned
Indians an area of 4,000
hectares, or whatever may
be feasible, adapting the
circumstances relating to these
lands with the minimum
necessary so that they will
have some land on which to
[162] live and work. It is held that
there is a band of vacant lands
on the boundaries of Fazenda
Correntes that by being *occu-
pied by Xavante Indians, who
preceded the present ones*,
was not included in the measuring
carried out on this fazenda in
1896." (The italics are ours--
RCO.)--For an idea of the
history of these Ofaié-Xavante,
see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

175 probably owing to pressure by the *fazendeiros* of the region.
621 It is quite possible that the present *aldea* of Buriti was
[162] established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during
[166] the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range
[648] (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter);
or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former
175 members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate,
361 up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna *aldea*,
as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 361 [162] [114] Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] [423] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there
arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim
Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a
former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain
range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain
told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 [464] if it were not for the fact that some families had left to work on fazendas. (154) But the population did not cease growing,

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[113] 154. The Relatório da Inspetoria Regional de Mato Grosso, for the year 1937, says the following: "Before (1937) the number of inhabitants was greater, but some families left in search of work, in order to acquire such staples as food and clothing. The lack of agricultural implements contributed to the departure of these families." And it cannot be said that the departure of Indians from Buriti was a minor affair, when we see that already in 1926 there were in that community 450 persons living in 52 houses, according to the Relatorio da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for that year. We see that from 1923 to 1926, in three years, the population of the aldea grew by 30 individuals; and from 1926 to 1937, aside from the population dropping slightly, we see quite a big increase in the number of ranchos: from 52 to 91--

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16
621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there
621 were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei
621 which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti
[368] proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an
[295] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul,
[797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The
[184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical
[875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing
[622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
777 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[433] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
Gi
By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423
162 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
G
begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166
were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621
648 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

G /96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Gi Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and
177 Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post,
[272] built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now
G a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica
Gi Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped
[797] infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school,
G all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the
Gi entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the
[366] chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region,
Gi characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and
[464] Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only
G five kilometers away.

Gi As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries,
797 nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants.
G
[775] On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres
Gi of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the
[771] Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)
[114]
G
Gi keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result
798 of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--
621 as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers"
have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who
G call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians.
Gi From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the
[795] mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds
[619] were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal
bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration
of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did
not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

G /97 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Gi But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
Gi regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G
621 To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
433 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
648 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
464 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
177 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121 156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[text continues on p. 142]

/98 cont./

/2)

groups and, as intermediate situations, are the tribes that maintain "intermittent contact" and those with "permanent contact" with the national society. These four situations were conceptualized by Darcy Ribeiro (1957:7-14) through the examination of the "behavior" of the Brazilian indigenous groups over the last 50 years, in terms of the manner and rate of survival, the decharacterization or disappearance of their languages and cultures." (Idem:5.) The criterion used was "the systematic comparison of the situation in which the Brazilian indigenous groups were found at the turn of the century, with the situation in which they are found today, in terms of the degree of integration into the national society and, correlatively, the preservation or loss of cultural and linguistic autonomy." (Ibid.) Thus, "integrated" are the groups that "having experienced all of the constraints mentioned and having managed to survive, reached the 20th century isolated in the midst of the national population, into the

/98 cont./

/121 economic life of which they have become incorporated as reserve labor or as specialized producers of certain articles of trade." (Ibidem:13.)

621/ 648 177 assimilated by it. In the particular case of the Terêna communities characterized above, it is seen that their components continue to be so closely connected with them that nothing indicates that they can be assimilated into the regional society in the foreseeable future. Psychological and social mechanisms prevent the process of assimilation from developing in a positive [128] manner. But before we deal with these mechanisms, we must say something more about these communities, analyzing them in the next chapter in terms of their socio-cultural variations. This will complete our idea of the conditions of existence of the present-day aldea Terêna.

/99/ VI. Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities

/121 [128] The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of socio-cultural variations among Terêna communities, in an attempt to understand the behavior, expectations, and claims of their components. In a concrete manner, we want to know what the pattern of conduct (157) of the present-day Terêna

157. We use conduct as a concept intermediary between "society" and "individual" and operating "in that strategic area where individual behavior becomes social conduct." (Nadel, 1957:20.)

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited [184] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety [621] of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 162 621 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand, the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue, Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors of already extinct groups such as the Kinikinâu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 175 621 177 As for the second variable, we might imagine a "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti, Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of [164] the communities to change. The older communities, such as [166] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikinâu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

/100 cont./
184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of
greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we."
Few of the families remained together for a long period in a
fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay
did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own";
they remained settled in their own "community," as long as
they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented
by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for
example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of
Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six
ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of
fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, where-
by the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary
for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of
his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous
chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification
into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity
when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a
common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups
as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account im-
portant differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The
latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout
the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this
behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the
politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/101 cont./

184 177 178 the outside, represented by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the religious missions. External intervention and the politico-religious situation nevertheless did not lead to a sufficiently significant deviation from the existing norms (of the Terêna universe) to make for two or more Terêna subcultures. This will become clear as we analyze the most relevant socio-cultural variants, i.e., those that resulted from the operation of the agencies of culture change that were most influential in the configuration of each community.

177 648 184 621 The actuation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, even though it is practically the same in relation to Terêna aldeas that have native posts, differs considerably in relation to aldeas without posts, those where, for various reasons, the S. P. I. was unable to set itself up or did so in a precarious fashion. In this latter situation is found the aldea of Passarinho and, with it, Moreira, under the circumstances referred to in the previous chapter; in the former situation, can be noted Limão Verde, Aldeinha, and União, the last two being private properties, and the first one an aldea whose lands, not yet demarcated or set aside as a reservation, did not stir the S. P. I. administration to build a post and place a superintendent in it. For this reason, these five communities hardly share in the protectionist activities of the government, being marginal to the minor help received by the other aldeas. (159)

648 621 159. When we once asked a superintendent about the aloofness he maintained with respect to one of those aldeas--which were rather close to his post--, he replied that he had nothing to do with those Indians since they did not belong to his aldea.--It is clear that such an attitude does not go

/101 cont./

648
621 unperceived by the communities that were not fortunate enough to get a post which, for better or for worse, would supervise life in the reservation. Although this is not in accordance with the administrative norms of the S. P. I., it has not been possible to avoid this distortion to which a large part of the superintendents are subject. The most obvious case is that of União aldea, which, because it is not a reservation but a private spot acquired by the Indians themselves--, does not receive the slightest amount of help; and even, it can be said, is regarded quite unfavorably by the great majority of S. P. I. officials.

648
621
433 In aldeas where the S. P. I. is located, the impression is conveyed of very slight concern with the communal economy, i.e., that of the Indians themselves, which is neglected in favor--of what we shall call--the post economy. We shall not here go into the merits of this "policy," since we do not /102/ know to what extent it reflects the directives furnished by the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, or the regional one, the inspetoria, in Campo Grande. The truth is that there is very great concern over the production of the post, i.e., that resulting from labor financed by the S. P. I, whether it relates to farm plots, to cattle-raising, or to the extraction of wood or angico bark. This labor is ordinarily carried out by the

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Purutuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the
aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families
whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, [461] the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented
economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and
recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha
can be taken as the most representative of this latter
type.

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of
timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according
to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now
permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the
[434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this
extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the
post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of
communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti,
for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced
the character of native production in the respective communities
very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that
benefit from the post production, whether through receiving
seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to
a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority
of the population are left aside from the post's economic
[241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they
[464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans
[511] [*feijão miudo*], and sometimes rice) which are not even
sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the *aldeas*
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by
[463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned outside
[314] the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen
of the *fazendeiros* of the region, or in agricultural work, for
which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation
is taken up by the neighboring middling and small
farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna
are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without
damaging it.

G /103 cont./

184 464 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G 511 433 This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply G 184 233 511 because the two economies coincide since they both undergo the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão, reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

G Gi [245] 161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

/104 cont. /

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give
them relative economic independence, like those of
Lalima and *Brejão*.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for
those families to remain in the *aldea* and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the *aldea*, the former selling its herd
and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading
[427] establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 *fazendeiros* and fattening its cows on them. These two *aldeas*,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by
their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few
families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of
rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief
species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively
recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they
came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic
missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly
competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert
those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force
of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more
intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/104 cont./

797 missionaries managed to organize groups of Indians who were 798 relatively imbued with the doctrine and practice of the gospel, through whom they went on to convert, in certain *aldeas*, a considerable number of individuals, to the point of creating a certain hostility between the Protestant converts and the 621 798 non-Protestants or Catholics. (163) Typical, in this respect, is the *aldea* of Bananal, followed closely by Limão Verde, Buriti, and Moreira-Passarinho. In these *aldeas*, it can be said that there occurred a division of the respective communities into /two plates appear here/ /105/ two groups: "Catholic" and "Protestant." We use these terms in quotation marks, because the mechanism that grants access to each of 177 these groups is probably as much political as religious. It 797 should be made clear, however, that other agents of culture change, such as the native post and the school it controls, are not being overlooked as active elements in the process of conversion, whether in a positive or negative way. There is no question that these agencies represent, alongside the missions, an unique and special instrument of change. Only by an attempt at abstracting on the part of the researcher, by identifying each of these agencies as variables of the same complex, does it become possible to differentiate the elements that make up this instrument. Thus, it might be said with Mayer Fortes that "the conversion of an individual or group frequently represents the culmination of a process brought about in the total complex by contact influences, of which the mission is only a single component." (164)

163. Consult Rattray-Hay, *op. cit.*

164. 1938:67.

[text continues on p.152]

/104a/

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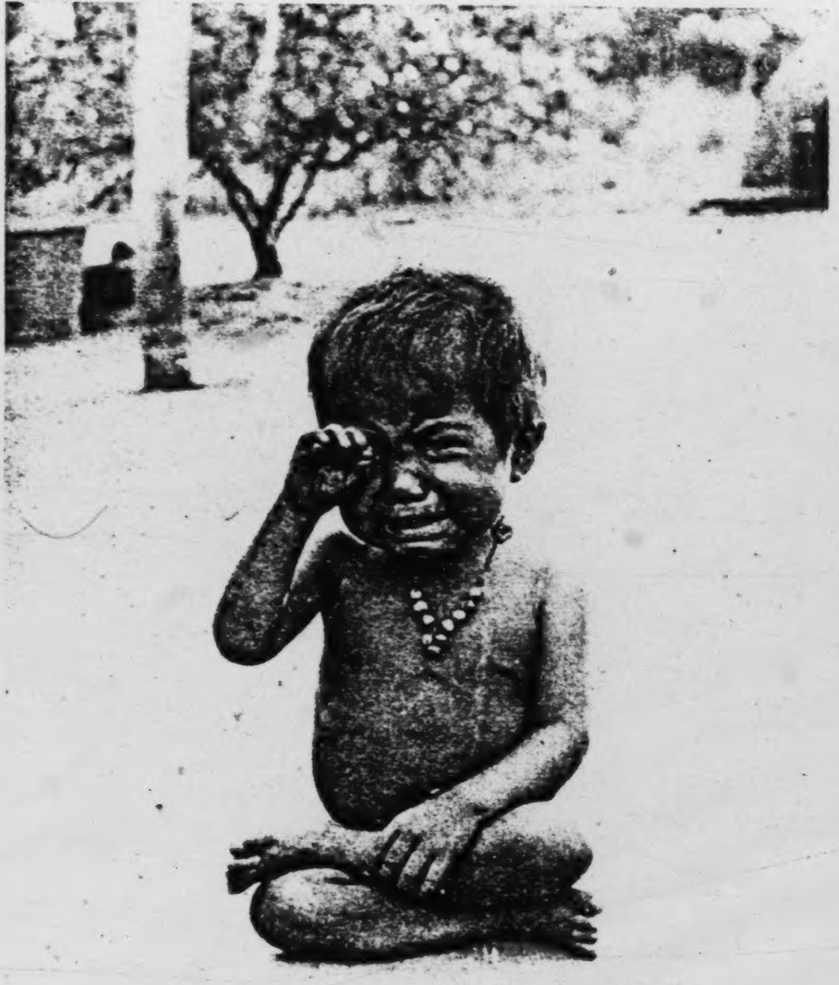

[126] Terêna child frightened by the author's Rolleiflex. (1955)

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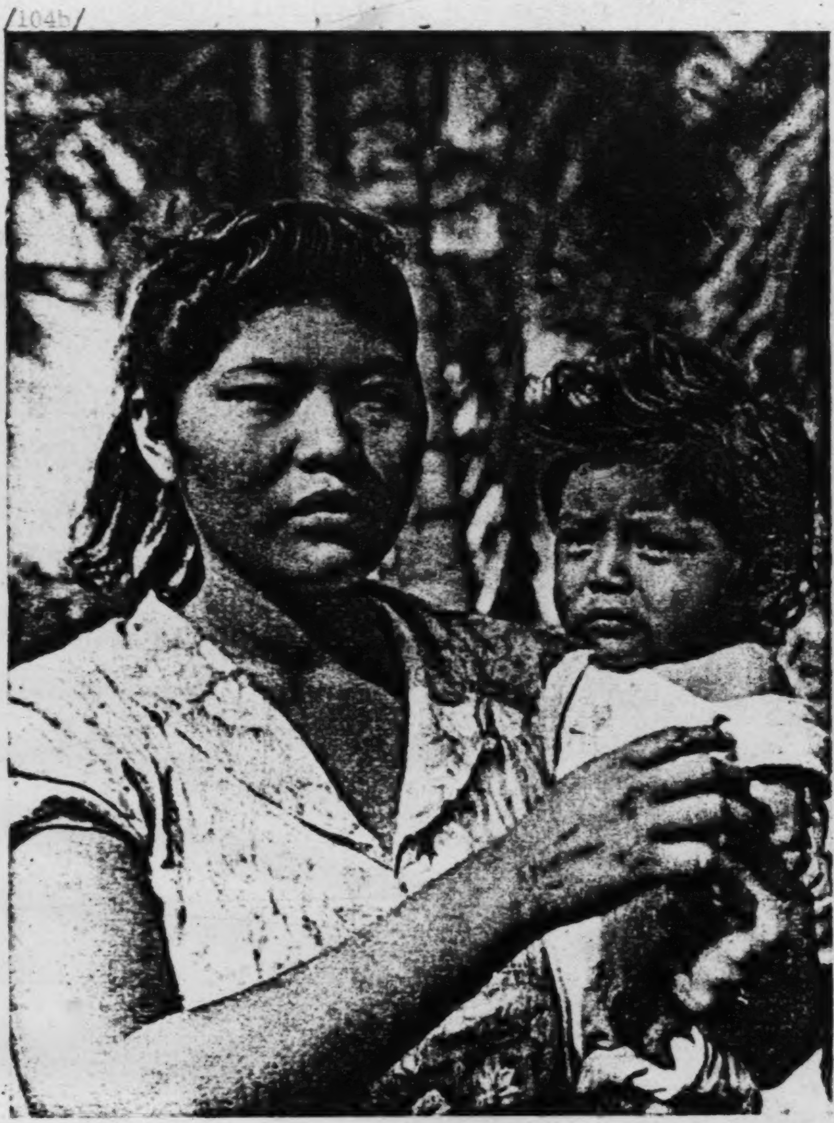

Young Terêna woman with her child. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

/105 cont./

797 But what we are dealing with here, at the moment, is
648 the result of the missions' activities, which is not always con-
578 sistent with their expectations of conversion. In this sense,
795 what seems to exist is opposition among the other agencies, at least insofar as Protestant conversions are concerned. In the majority of cases, or of aldeas, there is a certain incompatibility between officials of the S. P. I. (post and school) and Evangelical missionaries; this is not the case with the Redemptorist padres, who, while they are not encouraged to proselytism, at least do not meet with obstacles. This discrimination against Protestant missions seems to be due to two basic reasons: first, the fact that they are struggling against a religious ideology that is already rooted in the neo-Brazilian and native population, a mixture of Catholicism, spiritualism, and tribal beliefs and practices; second, the greater activity of the Protestant missionaries, their greater aggressiveness on the reservations, to the point where they use loudspeakers to propagate the gospel (with music and speeches); all of this combined with a rather efficient organization that leads the "Believers" to a more intensive group life by means of the various meetings of worship carried out through the weeks and of the preparation of Indians for the performance of proselytizing functions. It is not difficult to imagine how /106/ inconvenient this is for the post superintendent: aside from the "disturbance" of aldea routine, the "Believers" represent the "revolutionary" element in the community, not so much because they are the most demanding, but chiefly because of their greater organization, which permits an intensive and continuous control of post activities.

This situation of tension created between the Evangelical missionaries and the S. P. I. officials naturally does not fail to be reflected in the manner of conversion. In other words, the individuals who pass from the "Catholic" to the "Protestant" group, or vice versa, are usually led by a multiplicity of reasons, of which only one might have a religious content.

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation. Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted, since at the first opportunity they changed categories once more, passing with relative ease from one group to another, in accordance with the political situation of the moment.

797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the desire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!

621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggravated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content of both. (165)

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771 165. Altenfelder da Silva, in his work on Bananal, refers

/107 cont./

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771 to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621 For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as
798 did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of
665 Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant
184 converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it
should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

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[171] 166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

[172] 167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Borôro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/107 cont./
Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic con-
tact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani
have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant
or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those
exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of
Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed
characterized by the importance that the religious system holds
within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for
explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much
realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony
for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke
down. The impression gained, after living with them several
months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actual-
ly to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[798] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak,
something external to individual conscience, valid as a source
of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals
to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

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829 168. Each of the groups has
its stereotype: the "Catholic"
is regarded as a vagrant, great
drunkard, and merrymaker;
the "Protestant," as pious,
hard-working, and honest.
This is what the "Believer"

108 cont. /

798 thinks of himself and of the
829 "Catholics." Now the
[273] "Catholic," while he does
not deny that a large number
of his coreligionists drink a
lot, believes that they work
much harder than the "Be-
livers," since the latter "are
always at meetings of worship
and just ask for alms and do
[212] not take life seriously." It
seems that the basic difference
between them is that most of
the "Believers" know how to
read and write--because they
are encouraged to do so in
order to be able to study the
Bible, whereas the "Catholics"
[292] have no such incentive. This
difference is apparent in the
religious intervention itself:
the Protestant missionaries
are much more concerned with
literacy than the Redemptorist
padres.

771 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the
128 Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

/108 cont./
000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important
the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules
of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not
dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics"
themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find
two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the
community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian,
St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same
may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged
into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the
same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão,
as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/109 cont./

184 Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621 797 795 [665] [128] 170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

621 795 511 [184] [182] [648] 171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

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511 "Protestant" nucleus of Ágwhile we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

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797 this account divided the community into two antagonistic
795 religious groups.

184 The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served
177 to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177 Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives
117 if we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

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VII. Acculturation and Mobility

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167 Acculturation and social mobility will be dealt with, in this chapter, as two socio-cultural phenomena which, according to their own peculiarities, have played a basic role in the process of assimilation of the Terêna.

121 Already several times, in the course of this work, we have used the term assimilation, yet without defining it adequately. Up to now this was not necessary, since the context itself in which the term occurred was sufficient to make the reality described intelligible to the reader, who did not need to resort to any but simple concepts. Now this definition can no longer be postponed, since we shall be dealing with more controversial matters, which, for this reason, will have to be conceptualized with precision. Thus, we understand, by "assimilation," the "processus" by which an ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing (a) its cultural peculiarity and (b) its previous ethnic identification. Whereas the first consequence, (a), is equivalent to the process of acculturation, the second one, (b), has a psychological content as well, although it is characterized as a socio-cultural phenomenon, chiefly owing to the fact that the group is the unit under consideration; here, individual assimilation is set aside, or at best, used in a comparative sense. (172) On the other hand,

[text continues on p.162]

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172. The word assimilation has been used by sociologists to designate "a process of mutual adjustment through which culturally different groups gradually obliterate their differences to the point where they are no longer regarded as socially significant or observable /cited in English/."

/111 cont./

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(Lundberg, Schrag, and Larsen, 1954:437.) Not all, however, emphasize the group, but rather consider assimilation as "a gradual process by which the individual comes to share the expectations of another group and slowly acquires a new set of definitions /cited in English/." (Merril and Eldredge, 1957:42.)--Actually the two concepts correspond to two different aspects of the process of assimilation which was recognized by sociologists such as Ogburn and Ninkoff (1950) and Osborn and Neumeyer (1936)--and which here too we shall take into account, introducing only one observation as to the difficulty of verifying the correspondence between the concept and the reality which it claims to embrace, especially insofar as the second conceptualization is concerned; in this connection we use the term assimilated as the opposite of segregated (and, in certain cases, isolated) to indicate two extreme "conditions" set up on a continuum; this

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> in accordance with Glaser (1958:34), according to whom "the pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically... /cited in English/." And Glaser concludes with the admonition that "by the standard sociological definitions of assimilation, a person is not fully assimilated if he is conscious of trying to be assimilated: in the latter case, we would consider him desegregating" (p. 32). /Cited in English./

assimilation, like acculturation, /112/ can also mean a "condition" as opposed to a "process"; in this case, the context in which they appear will suffice to elucidate them as a dynamic category (process) or a static one (condition), as we
177 see in these respective examples: "assimilation--or acculturation--has led the Terêna groups to a radical change in their
619 behavior...," and "not yet assimilated--or sufficiently acculturated--, the Terêna remain a people with a tribal consciousness strong enough to differentiate them from the regional population and to prevent their classification as a national variant or subculture...."

We deem it fitting to underscore here this difference between the concepts of assimilation and acculturation--as "process" and as "condition"--in order to overcome an obvious ambiguity which incidentally has already been pointed out by Ralph Beals. (173)

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173. 1953:627-628.

/112 cont./

/2/ Since this work by Beals, there has been a reformulation of the concept of acculturation (and its derivatives) on the part of a group of specialists in the social sciences, who drew up a document, in 1953, as a substitute for the "memorandum" of 1936 by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovitz. (174) In this document, acculturation was defined as "a culture change initiated by the conjunction of two or more cultural systems." (175) In causal terms, the document adds, "acculturative change can be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it can be derived from noncultural causes, such as ecological and demographic modifications induced by a cultural shock; it can be delayed by internal adjustments, following an acceptance of foreign patterns or features; or it can be an adaptation /two plates occur here/ /113/ in reaction of the traditional ways of life." (176) In this work, we have made use of this concept of acculturation insofar as it has proved useful to an understanding of the consequences, in the cultural sphere, of the mechanisms of social, interethnic, and tribal interaction. At the basis of this, of course, there lies an implicit criticism of the theories of acculturation, insofar as they tend to regard cultural systems in themselves, often losing sight of the population or social group that bears them. (177) The emphasis given to behavior--

174. 1936:149-152.

175. Social Science Research Council, 1954:974.

176. Ibid.

177. The approach of the British social anthropologists,

[text continues on p.164]

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Old Terêna of Cachoeirinha. (1957)

Kinikinao

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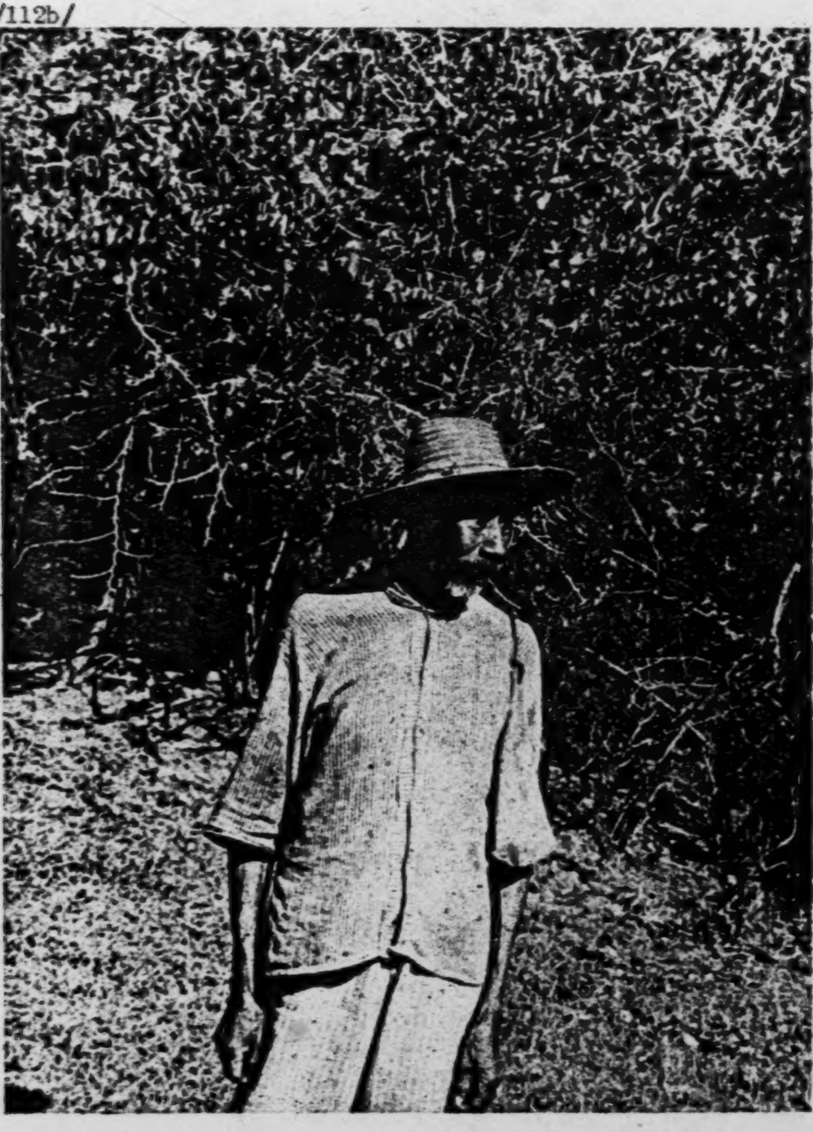

Kinikináu survivor of the "Paraiso" local group, now living in Cachoeirinha. (1958)

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> which basically objectifies changes that occur in behavior, seems safer to us, even though we must acknowledge the importance of acculturation theories in any detailed study of socio-cultural change.

as it was defined in the previous chapter--averts this danger, and at the same time permits us to deal with the process of acculturation in the terms proposed above.

Following this initial operational formulation of acculturation, the concept will become more precise when we compare it with that of social mobility, in the sense in which both /terms/ were used by Richard Adams, in his research on ladinización in Guatemala. (178) By Adams, social mobility is understood as a process of change "undergone by an individual when he gives up the customs of his own class or ethnic group in order to become a member of another class or ethnic group." (179) Here two forms of mobility are combined: horizontal (for Adams, equivalent to physical mobility), and vertical (in the already traditional concept of Sorokin). As the counterpart to this, the acculturation process is defined as "the change which a community or entire society undergoes as it becomes culturally more similar to another. It refers to the change in customs of all the members of a group, to the extent that these customs serve less and less to differentiate

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178. 1956:213-244.

179. Idem: 214.

/113 cont./

/121 this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

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621 The acculturation process to which the Terêna population is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[762] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

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181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/114 cont./

184 177 621 166 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) communities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182) leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as traditional play activities performed on festive days, such as Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[148] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

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178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
[548] genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of
the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.

178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities)
made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.

184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these
"games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

184. 1916:92.

/115 cont./

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An interesting example of the importance of this recreational institution in the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the rebirth of the "*bate pau*" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It seems that the first attempt was made on January 20, St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of dancers of the "*bate pau*!" This shows the strategic use of "secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron of Limão Verde. (185)

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185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an *aldea* even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "*bate pau*" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

178 /*116 cont.*/
535 participation in activities of
621 this sort very difficult.
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It is true that these variables are significant to an under-
178 standing of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms
184 of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural com-
621 plexes still in force in the old *aldeas*, such as the traditional
forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the
use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor,
all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities
of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple
178 ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables
756 have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-
755 religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever
there is a *Koixomuneti*--and they are spread through all the
aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals
are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to
the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical
178 practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that
796 the old *Oheokoti*, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the
[177] appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared,
replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of
Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to
1955 (!), in Bananal, the *Oheokoti* was performed with some
regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-
religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the *Yanakalu*,
by the collective meal, and concluded with the *Mootó*. (186)

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/116 cont./
178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from
the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/
[614] date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective
[526] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó
Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited
a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were
both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of
prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious
[756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said,
the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact
that the term is still in force as a general designation for the
magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[255] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great
prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be
teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on
specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies
that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[172]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/117 cont./

178 Campo Grande. All of them
796 were characterized by their
756 great age, especially João
775 Grande, perhaps the oldest
[165] of all, who died in 1957 at
the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the
178 Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified
755 in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic
756 and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example
771 of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves
796 Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls
of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show
spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with
the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently
heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the
[619] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In
short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel
571 in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the
[177] latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in
the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/118 cont./

178 structure over a two-fold, symmetrical one, could not survive
571 after the dispersal of the Terêna and the resulting disorganiza-
160 tion of the local groups. We should also add to this the kin-
582 ship system itself, which, thanks to the unity of the "sibling"
group, made even much more difficult the survival of the
tribal organization, insofar as it reduced considerably the
marriage possibilities, already so limited by the strata. In
the face of this, it can be said that such a structure is rigid,
as opposed to the flexible type mentioned by the members of
the Seminar on Acculturation when they refer to the possibility
of a typological differentiation of the internal structures of
cultural systems. (188)

188. Social Science Research Council, 1954:976-977.

177 The counterpart of the disappearance of the old social
571 structure was the adoption of an associative system, still vague,
but which emerged from the neo-Brazilian communities that
formed along the paths of the pioneering settlers. Monogamy,
the nuclear family as a dwelling unit, greater freedom in the
choice of a spouse, and the compadrío system, for example,
were cultural complexes incorporated into the tribal culture
178 that transformed completely the traditional way of life. But
571 not even by this did the Terêna lose their "tribal consciousness,"
619 even though it had been traumatized by the breakdown of the
old infra-structure and by its dislocation from the old value
system, its religion, and its mythology. At least those Terêna
who remained in their aldeas, or who reorganized into relatively
autonomous communities (such as those of group (b)
had land on which to live and to cultivate, and as a result
could have a group life and thus keep alive /119/ the "tribal
we" and postpone indefinitely their assimilation into Brazilian
society.

/119 cont. /

184 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the
177 distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are
369 scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aidea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

121 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in
162 working with a population scattered through an area as extensive
369 as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

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189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

/119 cont./

/21/ 162 369 of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substitute for participant observation, which has now become altogether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care [101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac, the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families, comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas, we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in /120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already mentioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia" [125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how widely the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families, a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

[621] 190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

/120 cont./

121 162 369 125 382 individuals organized into 55 families. (191) In order to

191. As for the census of the city, we naturally excluded Aldeinha, whose population was already mentioned in Chapter V. The estimate of the number of Terêna living on fazendas was done on the basis of information supplied by Indians of Aldeinha, who listed the families and, with us, figured out the number of their members.

121 125 369 In order to study the urbanized Terêna alone (192)--owing not so much

192. The term urbanized refers to that part of the detribalized Terêna population that lives in cities. The same distinction emphasized in Note 189 regarding the dual meaning of the concept, as a "condition" and as a "process," must be extended to urbanization. This second meaning would permit the formulation of a research project aiming to measure the degree of variation between families or generations, according to their greater or lesser incorporation into the patterns of behavior of the city. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958(a).)

/120 cont./

121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

[114]
[101]

193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

121 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was
125 made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
369
162 regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

/121 cont./

121 125 319 162 than 80 per cent of the urbanized Terêna population, or, in absolute figures, with 242 individuals or 36 families. It must be pointed out, however, that among these 242 individuals, not all can be considered "pure" Terêna; these, or rather, the offspring of a Terêna father and mother, do not number more than 120 individuals; the rest are divided in the following way: interethnic mestizos (offspring of interethnic unions) 102, intertribal mestizos (offspring of intertribal unions) 5, "Purutuya" 11 (whites 5, negroes 6), Guaikuru 2, Paraguayans 1, and 1 individual of unidentified ethnic origin. But, on the other hand, it is no less legitimate to deal with all of them as belonging to a single group, since they are all part of the same network of social relations, since the 36 families registered are identified as Terêna by themselves and by their Brazilian neighbors, regardless of the fact that the "head of the house" himself may be a "Purutuya" (usually a caboclo /mestizo/, if not a Negro) or a Paraguayan.

319 162 A painstaking analysis of the ethnic picture in these three cities shows that the relations between the urban and communal structures (both, of course, structures with an indigenous content) show asymmetrical profiles when compared among themselves in terms of cross-breeding data. While in the aldeas (taking Cachoeirinha as an example) the interethnic mestizos add up to 37.83 per cent and the intertribal mestizos to 62.16 per cent, thus presenting a higher index of intertribal mestizos, in the cities we have the reverse, if we take the total of the urbanized mestizo population: 95.32 per cent of interethnic mestizos and 4.67 per cent of intertribal mestizos, i.e., an obvious majority of interethnic mestizos. (194)

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194. These percentages obviously do not indicate the number of mestizos (a) or (b) in relation to those of other ethnic origins.

/121 cont./

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As for this aspect, it can be said that, of the total urbanized population, 53.71 per cent are mestizos (a) and (b); at present in Cachoeirinha, the index of mestizos (a) and (b) is scarcely 16.31 per cent.

369 162 582 The /122/ importance of this will be examined in the next chapter, when we shall deal with interethnic unions as the preferential type of marriage in the cities.

369 167 The analysis of the origin of this urbanized population, as a whole, discloses that the fazendas are the greatest sources of individuals for the cities, with 23.55 per cent; in second place is the aldea of Bananal, with 13.63 per cent, and in third place, the aldea of Ipegue, with 10.33 per cent. The percentage of persons born in the cities themselves is 33.05 per cent, and the rest of the population originated from small settlements such as Agaxi or Taunay and from aldeas like Lalima and Brejão, whose individual totals are very low and represent insignificant indices. If we bear in mind the low percentage of individuals born in the urban zones (33.05 per cent) as compared with the 66.94 per cent of people who came from the rural zone or from the aldeas, we can conclude that this urbanized population is relatively new. 167 369 621 And regarding the Terêna who emigrated from the aldeas, one notes that they tend to keep up their respective local groups, forming more or less cohesive nuclei in the cities where they live. In Aquidauana, for example, this separation is clear: aside from Aldeinha--which is suburban to the town--the Terêna live in two other places called respectively "Guanandi" and "Buraco Quente /hot hole/"; whereas in the former there live 11 persons who came from Ipegue and only one who came from Bananal, in the latter there live 10 persons from Bananal

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[166] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

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621 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

/123 cont./ To declare oneself a "Catholic" is
785 already a habit for the Terêna. And among all the Terêna I
771 have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one
was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católica de
Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas
de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano."
But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected
with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands,
it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of
the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

369 But how does this urbanized population earn its keep?
463 In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in
Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are
connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might
point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning
man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants),
and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher).
There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste
do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the
prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants,
bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite
only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms
of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which
represents the work most sought out by those who did not
manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there.
[465] Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning
salaries below /124/ average as compared with their
compatriots connected with urban activities.

369 Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terêna who
619 live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different
from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terêna

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terêna is that of Aldeinha, owing to

/124 cont./

369 the fact that its members are almost as closely connected to the city of Aquidauana as [128] those who live there. The division we have made follows a methodological criterion whereby the Aldeinha community could be studied, as it actually was, in the chapter devoted to the aldeas, while yet underscoring its peculiar character.

369 do not, on this account, fail to continue Terêna, i.e., to re-
619 main faithful to their ethnic origin and, to some extent, to
177 their local group. The loss of their ethnic identification,
369 along with their dissociation from the local group, begins in the generations following those of the emigrant Indians and obeys certain mechanisms. Assimilation seems to become possible only in special cases, out of a conjunction of factors such as the length of stay in the urban area, with its reflexes in later generations, the resulting interethnic marriages and cross-breeding, but above all, the greater or lesser family disorganization, with its decisive influence on the adjustment of the first and second generations in the urban-national
[561] structure. It should be noted that we are speaking of the
[619] assimilation of the generations following that of the Terêna who emigrated from their aldeas, and not of the emigrant who continues (i) to identify with his aldea of origin or his local group, (ii) to maintain land plots there, and (iii) to return there at the time of secular festivities or of magico-religious rituals reminiscent of the old Oheokoti. The barriers that obliterated the roads of assimilation of these emigrant Terêna will be examined in the final chapter of this work.

/124 cont./

*177 369 For now, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out certain regularities that emerge from the observation of the Terêna contingent born in the cities.

*177 369 184 The regularities observed may be synthesized in the following proposition: *Assimilation is more viable, progressively, beginning with the generations subsequent to the one that settled in the cities.* And as a corollary, we have then: *Those families that were organized (or formed) in the aldeas and, later, moved to the cities, are less likely to see their members assimilated into /125/ the local Brazilian society, than those families that were formed on fazendas or in the cities themselves.* Whereas the former maintain greater stability and remain more closely connected to the communities from which they came or where they were born, the latter are more likely to enter the process of disorganization, permitting greater marginalization of their members, especially those of the younger generations, opening the way to "desegregation" and, as a result, facilitating

121 assimilation. The reader must already have seen, at this point, that we are using a special scheme of references, with the object of making intelligible a process so difficult to verify empirically. This scheme, recently developed by Daniel Glaser, includes the situations of "segregated," "marginal," "desegregated," and "assimilated," as sociological categories arranged in a "continuum," whereby the dynamics of ethnic identification can be understood. (196) Glaser's basic hypothesis is that "the change of the pattern of identification of a person,

196. "Continuum:" "segregating" ↔ "marginal" ↔ "desegregating" ↔ "assimilated." (1958: 33.) /Cited in English./

/125 cont./

/2/ occurs in accord with the continuum referred to above." "This means that a person cannot change from a pattern of segregated identification to one of assimilation without, first, becoming marginal and, then, desegregated. Meanwhile, the change can occur in either direction of the continuum. To change from desegregation to marginal and to segregation, [128] is common." (197) Although we are not adopting this scheme in its totality--for many of the results of its application are open to question--, it is a useful tool for the aims we have in mind, since, wrought from the analysis of situations involving minorities (ethnic, religious, and national), it is more refined and it strengthens our criterion for measuring assimilation by the pattern of ethnic identification. (198)

197. Idem:35. "Ethnic identification refers to a person's use of racial, national or religious terms to identify himself, and thereby to relate himself to others." (Idem:31.) /Cited in English./

198. We defined assimilation, at the beginning of this chapter, as the process whereby one ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing its cultural peculiarity and its ethnic identification. See also footnote 172.

/125 cont./

*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from [123] interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [167] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave [571] their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Where- [829] as on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/126 cont./

*177 369 [571] [829] [464] them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and [361] [186] more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimi- [571] lation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed. /Page 128 is blank./

/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

/121 /128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [181] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/129 cont./
*177 better recreation, and better education for their children.
319 This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience,
203 since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar
208 with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more
developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater
[404] attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town
[439] to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there
than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads),
or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in
colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his
friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he
did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he
purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the
aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and begins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually
becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can
319 offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw
167 the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences
578 we had with the aldea population, especially with the
181 Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates
only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the
superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not
find the conditions necessary for his development. We have
an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the
Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian,
Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively
for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an
aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre,
because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture
land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he
no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent
[558] at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as
for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and
for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed
on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/130 cont./

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
578 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
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[152] 199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

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[441] 200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him in Campo Grande, he had bought a house, still tied up to estate inventory, and he was trying to salvage his money by hiring a lawyer.
[432]
[691]

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the *aldea* because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181
162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to *colônias* or fazendas; it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the population that scattered before the creation of the native reservations.

201. As a source of such friction, an important role is played by the politico-religious division of the community. This is proved by the large numbers of individuals channeled from Bananal and Ipegue to Campo Grande and Aquidauana. While Bananal is in first place among the *aldeas*, with 23.91 per cent, Ipegue in second, with 18.11 per cent, the other *aldeas* are most insignificant, sending, in absolute figures, one or two individuals at the most.
[798]
[655]
[184]

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
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/131 cont./

319 life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to
*177 the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the
511 greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market
181 is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied
recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope
of giving their children a better education (which is generally
fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban
319 "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a
*177 most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the
last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the
Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their
incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for
their assimilation.

*177 2. Military service is another important factor, but
701 which, of course, applies only to the male population. It
464 presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences,
554 supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their
possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that,
eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of
being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in
relation to younger men and to the young single women of
the community.

*177 From this desire to travel and to know new places--al-
701 ready pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal
181 peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could
[171]

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202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115 ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff. (Central America).

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives
him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the
extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of
conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and
laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic living
together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna
to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On
some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions,
the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct,"
or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of
conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but
instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc.,
all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[648] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I.
toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent
to which this condition makes an individual a person more demanding
and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the
cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban
work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document
most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas
(some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall
see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent
factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document
was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for
rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us
to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have
less reason to do military service.

/133 cont./

*177 3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on
582 the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage
563 and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the
557 high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation
369
562 to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these
indices with those obtained for the aldea population (particularly,
Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in
such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of
marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the
part of the urbanized population to contract unions with indi-
viduals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part
of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of
bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out
in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as
Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well,
but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this
expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive
examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by
*177 their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be
582 more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly
563 always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied
369 that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions
562 difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the
other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna
man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada,"
regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

/133 cont./

*177 colônias (in the município
582 of Campo Grande or in
563 Terenos), and who observed
369 there the great capacity of
562 the /Japanese/ woman for
[649] agricultural work, the young
Terêna men began to eye
the Japanese woman with
[241] great interest. Naturally
this is the case with the
aldea Terêna, since it is he
who devotes his activities
to planting and does not see
in the women of his own
group good fellow workers
on the land. (Cf. our work,
1958b.)

*177 situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife
582 there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in
563 addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city
369 562 (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to
[571] cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order
to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only
for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in
some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group,
even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking
the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 The widening of the family network by means of the
608 compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommo-
557 dation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the
baptism of his children are selected from among the regional
neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy
[175] privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the
[851] time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

/134 cont./

563 Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--,
608 baptism and consequently the *compadrio* system (in its most
557 [175] formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits
[851] of the padres to the "*colônias*," generally with the consent of
[551] the *fazendeiro*. The surnames that the Terêna carry today,
adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period.
[178] At present, with the probable exception of the population that
[369] still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent
occurrence: in the *aldeas*, the intra- and intertribal *compadrio*
system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

204. In the *aldeas*, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which
the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic
compadrio is more common, not only because the field is
naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire
to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same
mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from
the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the *compadrio*,
to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic
groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the *compadrio* represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant
[184] structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the
[795] fact that the *compadrio* is a technique rarely utilized by
individuals of the *soi disant* Protestant group: the institution
with results parallel */135/* to the *compadrio* for the "Believer,"
is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

*177 4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have
797 undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective
[121] have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the
indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
797 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obviously,
[171] did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
[821] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable
attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar
as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is
concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious
groups), as well as the role that the missions played
and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains
for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities
of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors
in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be understood
797 if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
771 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects
that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic
missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively
efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering
the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in
introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent
and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal
population and the European civilization represented by its
[829] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary
activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to
create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This
identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that
of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such
by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
[291] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
[191] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today,
in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began
to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual
group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
[795] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
[829] or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

/135 cont./

*177 Protestant penetration which made the designation "Christian"
797 too broad. But since /136/ no effective Catholic action was
771 developed parallel to the Protestant action, the "Catholic"
[829] Indians continued to identify themselves as such to the neo-Brazilian population, more out of habit than conviction, thus
[186] reflecting merely conservatory positions. The Protestant
ideology, on the other hand, ushered in by means of far more effective techniques--to which we referred in Chapter VI--ended by galvanizing part of the Terêna population, a minority, but which came to acquire a far more powerful "group consciousness" or "party consciousness." The mechanisms that operated in the conversion, or more precisely, in the recruitment of individuals into the new politico-religious group, were already examined in the above-mentioned chapter. It should merely be underscored, regarding the Terêna as a whole and excluding individual cases, that these mechanisms reflect a tendency of the group toward change (far greater than the present conservative mechanisms that operate in the maintenance of the soi-disant Catholic group), and consequently opening the way to
*177 assimilation. Thus we had, in the activity of the Catholic
797 missions of the last century, (205) an important instrument of

205. The missionaries who came to work more intensively with the Terêna were the Franciscan brothers, who took the place of the Jesuit padres after 1767, the date when the Society of Jesus was expelled. In Chapter IV, we showed the precarious contact that the Terêna had with the sparse neo-Brazilian population and with the missions until the Paraguayan war.

/136 cont./

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Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way
797 decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

175 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or
*177 national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the
648 Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/
[721] as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas,
[629] invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso,

[text continues on p. 197]

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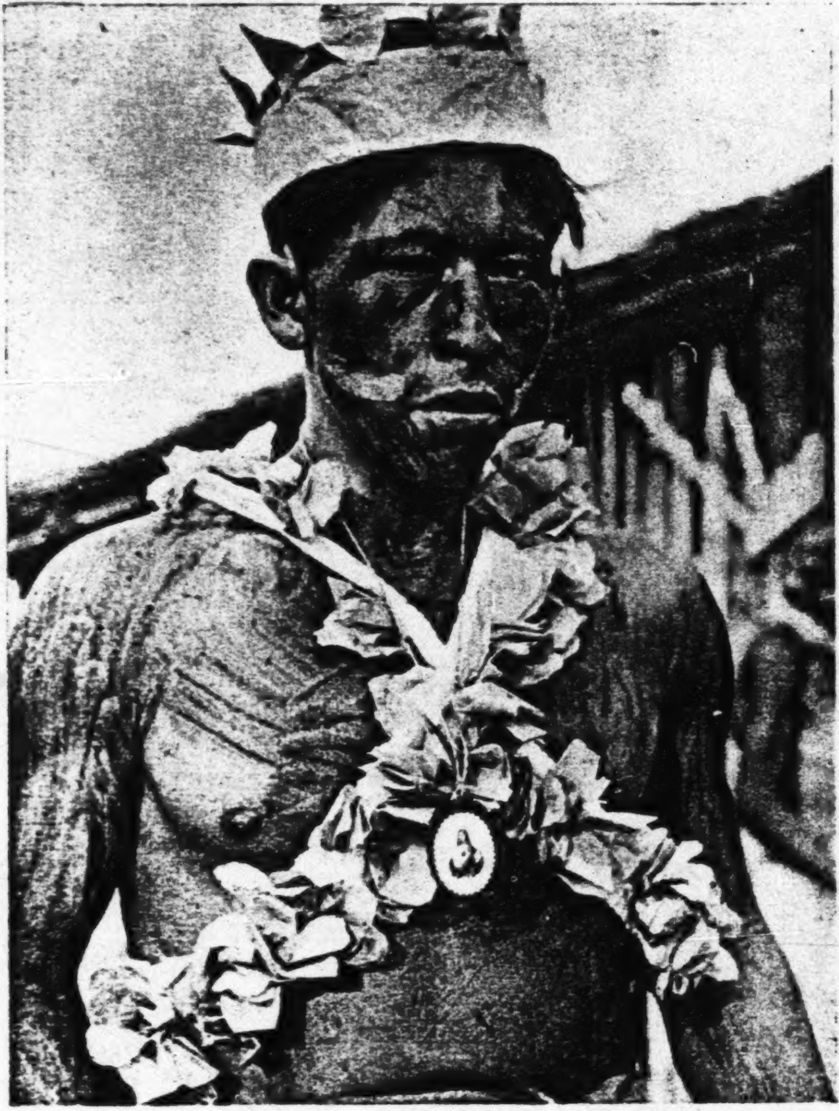

Young Terêna, Koixomuneti apprentice, wearing around his neck an image of the "Sacred Heart." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

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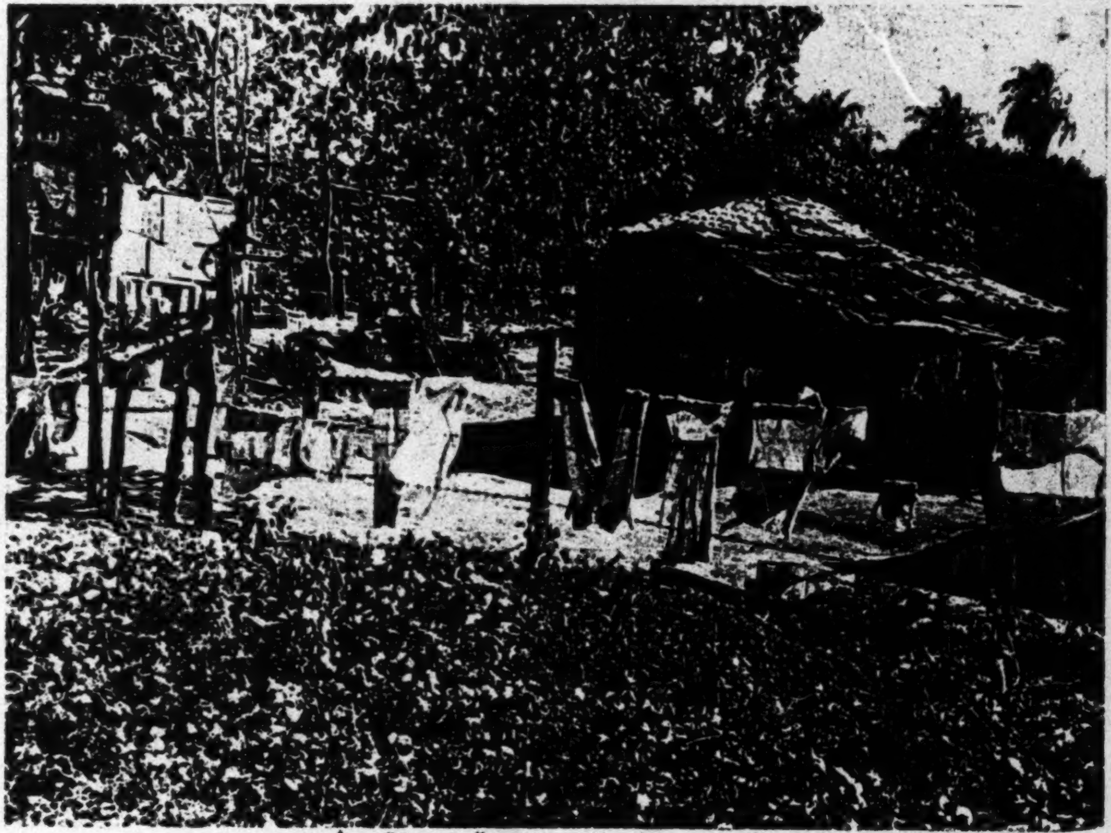

Terêna "favela" in Aquidauana. (1958)

175 /137 cont./
*177 where Terêna local groups were involved through the local
648 "colonels," who invaded and robbed their *aldeas*.

*177 After the Estado Novo, with the re-establishment of
666 democratic life in the country, the political parties began to
648 seek out the Terêna *aldeas* with the aim of gaining electors
among those who might perchance know how to sign their names.
To the Indian this meant, on the one hand, more symmetrical
relations with the "*civilizado*," at least while the election
propaganda lasted; on the other hand, he would get at that
time a few gifts and a voucher (which on October 3, 1955 was
worth 130 cruzeiros) if he voted for a specific candidate. It
is not irrelevant to point out that this voucher had to be collected
in goods, at the store of the candidate or of someone in his
party, thus making even more insignificant the amount with
which the votes were purchased.

In 1955, till the eve of the elections, there were 39
electors (including nine women) in one of the *aldeas* alone,
namely Cachoeirinha. In Passarinho, Moreira, and União,
taken together, the number of electors could not have reached
123 50. In the other *aldeas*, unfortunately, we were unable to find
*177 out the numbers of electors, because the news was afoot that
666 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, on account of the partisan
648 activities of some of the post superintendents in canvassing
electors in previous elections, had decided to withdraw the
Indians' /voting/ certificates. This naturally hampered our
work, since at the time we were affiliated with the officials
of that department. But it did not prevent us, in Cachoeirinha,
a community where we remained for a long time, from making
such a survey and from gaining the confidence of the com-
*177 munity for purposes of political discussion. Probably in all the
666 Terêna *aldeas* (not to speak of the Guarani ones), the political
648 parties promoted small rallies, some of them authorized by
the superintendents, others by their own "captains," who often
/138/ voted against the superintendent's party in an obvious
show of antagonism between the community and the Serviço de

/138 cont./

*177 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to
666 send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terêna to the city, where
648 they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha,
for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/
and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then
united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation,
which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take
advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the
UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set
up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under
identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum
advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was
proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the
promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders.
[622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most in-
fluential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who
always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the
[466] "Purutuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in
the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for
one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the
fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the
aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest ex-
ploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the
reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas
of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to
his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the
666 following way: those who live on fazendas have even less
367 freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master,
the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same
path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians
tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido
Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers
and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates.
[829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

/138 cont./

*177 and one more compatible with a democratic system, something
656 that does not happen in the aldeas or on the fazendas, which
369 are still part of a paternalistic structure (each in its own way)
829 and ideologically inconsequent. The fact is that both the aldea
Indians and the detribalized ones, on the whole, are led by
the activities of the political parties to an awareness of the
existence of /139/ a broader structure that compels them to
express themselves by means of the vote. Of course, the consciousness
of this mechanism varies in the proportion indicated
above, with the urbanized Indians in the "more enlightened"
[559] position. It is worth mentioning here, to illustrate a change
which is taking place in the Terêna situation, the candidacy
of one of their most active leaders, the "Believer," Patrício
Lily, for a member of the city council of Miranda in the coming
elections of October, 1958. (206) There is no doubt that the

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206. This Terêna, in spite of living in a village--and of being classified roughly among the aldea Indians--is one of the exceptions, perhaps the most glaring one, owing to the fact that he is connected with the city to the same extent as the urbanized Indians, as demanded by his profession as a music teacher and an Evangelical leader, whose story we already referred to in Chapter V. (When this work was in press, in final proofs, we learned that the Terêna, Patrício Lily, had given up his candidacy, claiming that he was not a politician, although he had been invited to join various slates of candidates.)

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
66 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive
*177 to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-
648 ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as play-
ing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical
relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized
Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they be-
long. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the po-
litical parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor
of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*777 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first
557 two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction
the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as
the source of new experiences and advantages to the young
Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane
of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on
social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above,
in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of
the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned
plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we
are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility
or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor
[464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social
mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been men-
tioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from
various standpoints.

*177 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long
464 time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato
Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied.
[178] With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the
southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased,
but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work,
herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico
bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor
[461] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they
[142] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

/140 cont./
*177 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great
464 endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor.
461 It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better
[147] [314] *casqueiro* /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table"
[124] we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to
hear the testimonies of three *fazendeiros*, who were unanimously
favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at
first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude
and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion
among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the
Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the
manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on
little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber,
seem to be preferential productive activities of the *aldea* Terêna,
with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots.
In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day,
46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not
484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very
high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days
when they are away from their families--from about one week
to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the
[829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so,
they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., *changuear*,
always returning to the *aldea*, to leaving it and settling with
46 their family in some "*colônia*." The work pattern of most of
these Indians is a combination of the *changa*, i.e., sporadic
work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the *aldea*.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in
463 the country, for the *aldea* Indian, represents a "saving of the
826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional
159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case
*177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had
256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,
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/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
256 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[162] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered
with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out
and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already
carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant!
As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he
would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a
'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what
he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a
baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have
achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from
10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours
and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had
dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[824] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered:
"The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour,
the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did
not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
826 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common
to most of the Terêna with whom we spoke. One of them, for
example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating"
coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.)
or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We
shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved
expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is
now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on
the family "lot."

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*177 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
463 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of ~~the factors that~~ have operated
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G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[828] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and
work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility)
appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change
of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it
might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such
a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of
Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always
G yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
[464] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his
aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

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*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is
G [191] concerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for
the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent,
while at the same time they dress better and are practically
undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

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207. We say "biologically
mestizo" in spite of being
aware that we are falling

/142 cont./

G 563 184

> into a tautology. We wish thereby to make it clear that the (interethnic) mestizos referred to so far still maintain the same style of life and the same group consciousness that characterize the "biologically pure" Terêna. Despite cross-breeding, they continue to be Terêna and to be acknowledged as such by the community.

*G 177 563 369 B 563 G [190]

claims the condition of descent from Indians but, on the contrary, shows great contempt for the "bugre" /"wild Indian"/--the term by which the non-native population pejoratively calls the Indians of the region. But the aldea Terêna, for the most part, speak badly and with an accent, aside from dressing in a more rustic way, whether they are men or women. This makes them easy to identify wherever they go, making it possible for the "bolicheiros," (208) for example, to wait on them always /143/ last and not infrequently unwillingly, in flagrant discrimination. Many times there have been cases of unwarranted attacks on groups of individuals while making purchases in the cities. One of them, with serious consequences, occurred in Miranda, involving a Terêna family from Cachoeirinha and a group of city policemen: the chief victim says that he was standing on a sidewalk, along with his son and other companions, when two or three soldiers came up to them and insulted them; following the reaction of his son, although it was a timid one, the policemen attacked him, dispersing the group with shots; one of these shots hit him, making him fall to the ground with a leg wound. This cost him

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208. Cf. note 141.

G /143 cont./
*177 563 369 B 563
some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I., which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without any positive results, according to the information we got. This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

G *177 191 369
Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not speak Portuguese. G [561] [648] In these aldeas, there are many old people who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15 and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in G [184] those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

/144 cont./

But in the cities,

*177 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
191 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
369 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).
561

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a divergent
212 way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

/144 cont./
*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[267] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to perform agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/145 cont./
*177 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the
648 "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the
175 Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were
reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land
protected by the federal government, the Terêna population
was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic
contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment
(cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced
and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the
phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance
of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikinâu,
the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable
exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the
Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning
of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these
tribes had vanished completely as groups (the
Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikinâu), unequipped
to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this
648 protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a
segregation imposed by the S. P. I., by direct, persuasive, or
violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of
reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously
exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels"
spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped"
*177 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the
648 majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did
829 not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or
464 went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to
162 the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who
underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain
on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a
mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance
with the oscillations of the regional labor market.

G /146 cont./
*177 The segregated condition to which the *aldea* population
178 is subjected stimulates the emergence of psycho-social
648 mechanisms that work counter to assimilation: it strengthens
the "tribal we," decreases the possibilities of interethnic con-
tact, and *marks* the position of the Indian socially as a ward.
Let us examine this last aspect of segregation, since the first
two--the strengthening of tribal consciousness and the creation
G of obstacles to interethnic contact--were already dealt with in
666 previous chapters. The most flagrant discrimination against
648 the Indian that we had the opportunity to witness bore the
B approval of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios at the time of
657 the 1955 elections. In that year, at the end of September,
thus on the eve of the elections, the Inspetoria Regional (IR-5)
with headquarters in Campo Grande and responsible for the
supervision and articulation of the native posts /147/ of southern
Mato Grosso, along with the central administration of the
Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, decided to withdraw the Indians'
voting certificates on the grounds that regional politicking
would be prejudicial to the Indians' interests and to their ad-
ministration. It considered--with some reason--that, if the
Indians were to vote, the officials of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios, especially the superintendents, would eventually
become electoral leaders, as had already happened in some
aldeas; the result of this would be a future wrangling over the
posts of native-post superintendents, since they would come to
represent political power, electoral importance. Very well.
Such were the reasons that led the Serviço de Proteção aos
Índios--through its *inspetoria*--to take an attitude that clashed
with the basic principles of a native policy oriented toward
guaranteeing to the Indian the securing of rights he would prove
G ready to enjoy. Once literate, and in most cases, a reservist,
[641] the Indian elector automatically ceased to be a ward (despite
the *sui generis* nature of this wardship)--and the Serviço de
Proteção aos Índios, interpreting in a positive way the pro-
tectionist policy, would have no other recourse than to insure

G /147 cont./
666 the securing and enjoyment of a right he had won. Let us leave
648 aside, however, the indigenist implications of such an attitude
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657 and go on to examine its sociological aspect.

The first measure of the native-post superintendents was to collect the voting certificates in the aldeas themselves. There they managed to collect only part of them, and probably a small part--to judge by Cachoeirinha, where only a few agreed to give up their certificates; a large part of the Indians claimed that their certificates were to be found either at party headquarters (in the city) or in the hands of the electoral magistrate himself, from whom they would have to get them back in order to vote. As a result, some of the superintendents, eager to carry through at any cost the orders of their superiors, went to the cities on election day and tried to prevent the Indians from voting through every possible means. This was a veritable hunt and an extremely difficult task, since while the S. P. I. officials were assisted by one party, they were hindered by another that counted on the votes of the Indians in that particular aldea. Many voted, it is true. Perhaps a majority did, for not all of the officials endeavored to be so efficient....
G [829] But the result of this was to make clear to the Indian that the distance between him and the society of the "Purutuya" is practically unbridgeable. And more: to be an Indian /148/ living in an aldea under the sight of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, (209) is to suffer discrimination too, which begins with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

G [369] 209. The detribalized Indians (urbanized and living on fazendas), as well as those living in aldeas that do not have a native post, were not prevented from voting, since, practically speaking, they were not under the control of the S. P. I.

/148 cont./

000 with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

*177 4. Aside from the barriers mentioned so far, namely: (1) the ethnic ones (phenotype and language), (2) those created by the urban labor market (lack of documents and preference for agricultural work), and (3) those created by the intervention of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (segregation and discrimination), there are also, to make difficult the full functioning of the assimilation mechanisms, those barriers that we shall call "social." because they operate on the level of the organization of the associative life.

*177 319 571 The first of these emerges from the difficulty encountered by the Terêna population coming from the aldeas in maintaining the same index of associative life. Whether they settle on fazendas or in cities--especially in cities--Terêna families become involved in more impersonal relations, more shallow, and limited to a small group of fellow tribesmen (usually neighbors, relatives, and compadres) and a few fellow workers. The intensive "social life" of the aldeas (festivals, games, visits, etc.) has no counterpart on the fazendas or in the cities. All of that typically tribal interaction to which they were [511] accustomed gradually disappears. Even the recreational life [565] of the Terêna emigrant, which at first seemed about to be enriched by his move to the urban areas, for example, proves much poorer because it is inaccessible to the less favored strata of the population in which he settles.

*177 319 565 This integration into the lowest strata, in turn, can be considered as a second barrier that arises between the Terêna and the national society. The detribalized population, from the moment when it leaves its aldea, even if it does not lose touch altogether with its local group, goes on to live either as landless country people (when it settles on fazendas), or as manual laborers (when it lives in the cities). The exceptions, [511] already mentioned earlier, are rare. But the fact that this detribalized population (especially the urbanized one),

/149/

*177 369 565 [511] goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point that it does not pay to leave the *aldeas* for merely economic reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

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210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the *city* and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them there. 162 175 As for the *fazendas*, as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the *aldea* or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to *aldeas* reorganized later. 162 619 369 Nevertheless, this population is still identified

/149 cont./

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369 as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the *município* of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.)
*[172]
[563] This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of *interethnic* mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
[563] poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
[571] barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.
*177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
582 ing families outside the *aldeas*. The *reduction of the marriage*
562 *market*, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the *aldeas*. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

* /149 cont./
177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
582 encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman.
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563 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
"Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low
standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage,
when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence
of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point
of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also
true that it covers only one populational category, namely,
the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled
to remain connected as much as possible with their
communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives.
One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both
are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[621] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially
those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only
on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular
relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly
find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood
here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters)
without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the
"Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered,
it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with
interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation
of their children and of themselves.

*177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of
contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones),
there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the
individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence
in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc....
If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

/150 cont./

*177 off of the smallest inclusive group, the mechanism of marginali-
182 zation (already active) begins to operate with great efficacy,
571 making it improbable that the individual would move (in terms of Glaser's "continuum") to a "segregating" condition, often with his return to the community of origin; on the contrary, either he remains "marginal" or he evolves to a "desegregating" condition (in which most of the individuals born and raised in the cities or on the fazendas seem to be included); from this to an "assimilated" ~~/condition/~~--which marks the final stage of the process--the distance is less, although, as we have seen, it is hard to verify empirically. (211) /151/ It should be made

It should be made
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128 clear, however, that it is not always possible to distinguish every moment of a real processus, although one may have an idea of its most significant stages. For this reason, we did not believe at any time that we were describing the assimilation phenomenon with the same precision with which the social organization of a tribe or the communication system of a complex

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211. "The pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically, except with respect to the most diffuse ethnic identities (e.g. "Nordic"), although the American Creed may be interpreted as implying that an assimilated pattern is ideal" (Glaser, 1958:34). /Cited in English./ As for the composition of the "continuum," see notes 172 and 196.

/151 cont./

*177 128 society might be described. Thus, it will not be idle to recall here the words of Talcott Parsons when he warns that even if one does not know the laws that govern a process, it is always possible to "describe it" in terms of its initial and final moments--and possibly to make inferences about its intermediary stages--until one reaches empirical generalizations about it. (212) This was the procedure we followed, aided by

212. "Frequently, however, the laws governing a process are incompletely known, or even not at all. Then it may still be possible to describe the process in terms of the initial and the final states and possibly intermediate stages or go a step further to state empirical generalizations about it.--A scientist studying the interdependences of variables generally isolates the particular process or class of then and treats it as a system" (Talcott Parsons 1952:201). /Cited in English./

[121] a minute examination of the data gathered in the field. We believe that through the analysis of the socio-cultural factors that operated in a convergent or divergent manner in the assimilation process, we succeeded in indicating the bases on which the psycho-social mechanisms operate.

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Conclusions

I. The Terêna, as the last Guaná subgroup to enter into continuous and systematic contact with Brazilian society,

/151 cont./

*177 178 naturally suffered much less damage than the Exoaladi, Layâna, or Kinikinâu, whether physically (depopulation) or culturally (deculturation). This explains their survival of the vicissitudes they underwent after the war with Paraguay, with their captivity, the disorganization of the local groups, and their dispersal through the fazendas that were forming. With the creation of the native reservations, they even had the strength to reorganize into aldeas, to face /152/ the epidemics and the competition with the regional neo-Brazilian population, because they still made up a rather numerous and highly integrated group.

II. While the majority of the Terêna had gradually returned to aldea life, a minor contingent remained on the fazendas, where they settled, entering a process of detribalization. Today, we find the following picture: some are permanently settled in the "colônias" of those fazendas that granted them better treatment, equivalent to that given the neo-Brazilian countryman; others went on moving from fazenda to fazenda, following the harvesting cycles and the availability of work. Nevertheless, this detribalized population continues to identify itself, on the whole, as belonging to a definite ethnic group and to be recognized by the Terêna "community" as a component of it. The occurrence of interethnic marriage leads, through cross-breeding and family disorganization, to individual assimilation; in a sense, this assimilation becomes easier to be carried out in the rural zones than in the urban areas, in view of the smaller "cultural distance" existing between these zones and the aldeas, in spite of the fact that the cities loom as the most powerful agencies of change.

*177 178 369 III. With the progressive urbanization of the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, i.e., with the formation of the cities, both aldea and detribalized Indians became attracted by them to the point that numerous families settled in the urban and suburban areas and came to live there, subsisting on their urban occupations. In spite of being detribalized and urbanized, these Terêna continued to remain connected with

/152 cont./

*177 the aldeas of their origin, (i) identifying themselves with them,
178 (ii) keeping "lots" in them, and (iii) returning to them for
369 secular activites or magico-religious rituals. The assimilation of this urbanized contingent tends to occur in the generations that follow that of the Terêna emigrant, and in accordance with certain conditions, the most important being: family disorganization. Whether in relation to this urbanized contingent, or in relation to the merely detribalized one--mentioned in the previous paragraph--the assimilation mechanisms are the same, their content obviously varying.

*177 IV. Although the analysis in depth to which we subjected
178 only those Terêna classified as aldea /Indians/ and as urbanized
128 /Indians/, was sufficient to give us an idea of the assimilation process, the exclusion /153/ of the detribalized Terêna, that is, those living on fazendas, imposes on this work a serious limitation which we attempted to circumvent through the use, perhaps the abuse, of a very poor set of data, often obtained by means of indirect methods. Nevertheless, the viability of this procedure, defensible from a methodological standpoint, permitted us to deal with the Terêna as a whole, to classify them into objective sociological categories, and to proffer generalizations about them. The manipulation of the concepts of acculturation and social mobility helped us to foresee two basic aspects or conditions of the assimilation process. Finally, the detailed examination of this process, through an examination of the psycho-social mechanisms emerging from it--carried out with the aid of a particular theoretical scheme (Glaser)--led us to understand the dynamic aspects of ethnic identification and their importance to the survival of the Terêna, as groups.

*177 V. The final conclusion reached is that the Terêna
178 population, in spite of being integrated into the regional economic structure, nothing indicates that in the near future it will come to be assimilated by the Brazilian society or by its socio-cultural segments. (213) Perhaps this will not even

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213. Cf. Julian H. Steward,
1955:43-63.

*177 occur some day, if the same conditions persist that led the near
178 totality of this population to remain in aldeas. The assimilation
of some detribalized or urbanized individuals, usually sons
and grandsons of Indians who left their communities, is not
sufficient to permit us to diagnose the Terêna population, as
a whole, as being on the way to incorporation into the national
society. /The bibliography and index at the end of the work
have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

S: Oliveira

SK7 Guana SK7

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[For information on the assimilation of the Terena into Brazilian or neo-Brazilian urban culture, see category 116, pp. 181-182, 184-186, 188-209, 211-219.]

3: Oliveira SK7 Guana SK7

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/For fissive tendencies displayed by various members of the religious (i.e., Catholic/Prostestant) community, see category 798./

3: Oliveira

SK7 Guana SK7

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/For the role and function of the kauti or war captives in Guana society, see category 565./

3: Oliveira

SK7 Guana SK7

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/Information on the "slave" or "vassal" relationship of the Guana to the Mbaya people will be found in category 648./